STACK 3
SECTION A
SHELF 5

THE CITY

THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY

BOOKS BY FREDERIC C. HOWE

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

European Cities at Work. 12mo. *net*, $1.75

Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy. 12mo . . . . . *net*, $1.25

Privilege and Democracy in America. 12mo . . . . . *net*, $1.50

The British City: The Beginning of Democracy. 12mo . . . *net*, $1.50

The City: The Hope of Democracy. 12mo *net*, $1.00

THE CITY

THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY

BY

FREDERIC C. HOWE, PH. D

AUTHOR OF "TAXATION AND TAXES IN THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE INTERNAL REVENUE SYSTEM"

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1914

COPYRIGHT, 1905, BY
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

Published October, 1905

Reprinted December, 1905; February and April, 1906; February, 1908; March, 1909; January, 1912; March, 1913; March, 1914

TO
M. J. H.

3764

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/cityhopeofdemocr0000fred_k9i0

PREFACE

The literature on the city deals almost exclusively with the machinery, the personnel, the charter, the legal limitations and relations. Either this or the corruption of the officials. It is a literature of forms and functions. Its point of view is ethical, personal, political. The economic foundations have been passed by as incidental, as a subject of administrative detail. In like manner, municipal reform has been viewed as a thing of conventional morals, of improving the individual citizen, and stimulating his patriotism.

This volume is a reversal of method. It is an attempt at the Economic Interpretation of the City. It holds that the corruption, the indifference, the incompetence of the official and the apathy of the citizen, the disparity of wealth, the poverty, vice, crime, and disease, are due to causes economic and industrial. They are traceable to our Institutions, rather than to the depravity of human nature. Their correction is not a matter of education or of the penal code. It is a matter of industrial democracy. The incidental conditions are personal and ethical. Whether we adopt the personal or the economic interpretation

will determine our attitude towards the problems of modern city life.

The convictions of this volume are the result of several years of actual political experience in the administration of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, as well as of personal study of municipal conditions in the leading cities of America and Great Britain. They represent a drift away from what I have termed the personnel, which is the orthodox view of politics. Instead of the city being controlled by the charter, the suffrage, or by purely political institutions, I have become convinced that it is the economic environment which creates and controls man's activities as well as his attitude of mind. This arouses his civic or his self interest; this underlies the poverty and the social problems with which the city is confronted. This explains contemporary politics. It alone explains conditions in Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis, Cincinnati. In all of our large cities it accounts for the Crokers, the Coxes, the Butlers. It is the economic motive that explains the activity and the apathy; the heavy burden on reform, and the distrust of democracy.

We do not question this motive in the saloon keeper, who organizes his precinct for a liberal Sunday. His politics are not ethical, they are due to self-interest. The same instinct is reflected, consciously or unconsciously, in the

leaders of finance, the franchise-seekers, the banker, and the broker, the lawyer, and the Press; all are fearful of democracy, when democracy dares to believe in itself. We all know that economic self-interest determines the politics of the saloon. We are beginning to realize that the same self-interest is the politics of big business. This realization explains the awakening of democracy, which is taking place in city and state all over the land.

The same is true of the social problems of city life. The worst of the distressing poverty, as well as the irresponsible wealth, is traceable to economic institutions, to franchise privileges and unwise taxation; to laws which are open to correction as they were to creation. Conditions in the tenement are not ethical, not personal, they are traceable to laws of our own enactment. There is no other possible explanation of the fact that destitution is greatest where wealth is most abundant and industry most highly developed.

Almost without question we have accepted the other, the personal explanation of these things. Our programme has been to improve the individual man by education, by charity; not to improve the city by a change in our industrial policy. We have been bailing water with a sieve. The reformatory sends forth one offender only to find two others at the gate. The big business man

may grow disgusted with his traffic in privilege, only to see another man less critical of means take his place. Only by exiling privileges shall we exile corruption. Only by offering opportunity to labor shall we close the doors of our hospitals, almshouses, and prisons. Only by taxing monopoly, will monopoly be forced to let go its hold on the resources of the earth and the means for a livelihood.

My own mind has passed through the evolution here suggested. Starting with the conviction that our evils were traceable to personal causes, to the absence of educational or property qualifications in our suffrage; to the activity of the spoilsman and the saloon keeper in alliance with the foreign voter; to the indifference of our best citizens to politics because it was politics, I have been forced by experience to a changed point of view, to a belief that democracy has not failed by its own inherent weakness so much as by virtue of the privileged interests which have taken possession of our institutions for their own enrichment. From a belief in a business man's government I have come to a belief in a people's government; from a conviction that we had too much democracy I have come to the conviction that we have too little democracy; from a study of history I have been forced to the realization that the progress of civilization has been a constant struggle

of liberty against privilege; that wherever privilege has been dominant liberty has passed away and national life has decayed, and that our democratic forms are no more immune from the same dominion than were the nations of antiquity or of modern Europe. It is privilege of an industrial rather than a personal sort that has given birth to the boss, created the machine, and made of the party an agency for the control of our cities, states, and nation, rather than for the advancement of political ideals.

It is the economic motive that makes municipal reform a class struggle; on the one hand are the few who enjoy privileges which they are seeking to retain; on the other hand are millions awakening to the conviction of industrial democracy.

Two facts must be faced. First, the motive of those who control our politics and whose chief interest in the city lies in the direction of their own advantage. Second, the economic environment of those who are compelled to a lifelong struggle for the barest necessities of existence. It is only by facing these facts that the problems of the city may be solved and its possibilities achieved.

FREDERICK C. HOWE.

CLEVELAND, OHIO,
September 1, 1905.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Introductory	1
II.	The New Civilization	9
III.	The Profit Account	24
IV.	The Loss Account	32
V.	The American City at Work	43
VI.	The Source of Corruption	61
VII.	The Boss, the Party, and the System	92
VIII.	The Way Out—Municipal Ownership	113
IX.	Does Municipal Ownership Pay?	136
X.	The City Republic	158
XI.	The City Charter	177
XII.	The Cost of the Slum	187
XIII.	The City's Homes	202
XIV.	The City's Wreckage	214
XV.	The Wards of the City	227
XVI.	The City Beautiful	239
XVII.	The City's Treasure	249
XVIII.	The Revenues of the City	262
XIX.	The City for the People	280
XX.	The Hope of Democracy	300
	Index	315

THE CITY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Distrust of democracy has inspired much of the literature on the city. Distrust of democracy has dictated most of our city laws. Many persons are convinced that mass government will not work in municipal affairs. Reform organizations have voted democracy a failure. Beginning with a conclusion, they have aimed to temper the failures of an experiment that has never yet been fully tried. They have petitioned State Legislatures to relieve the overburdened city of the duty of self-government. To these men of little faith, we have too much democracy, too wide a suffrage, too many people in our confidence. From their point of view corruption is fivefold. Its origins may be traced to the spoils system, the party machine, the saloon, the foreign voter, and faulty charter provisions. According to them democracy has broken down of its own weight. They conceive our mistake to be an attempt to extend government to the many, and believe that it should be left to the few.

To such persons, the cure seems as simple as

the disease. They would limit the suffrage. They would divorce national issues from city politics. They would pass civil service reform laws. They would elect better men to office. They would treat the city as a business concern, and put its affairs in the hands of commissions or experts. A business man's government is their highest ideal.

We are beginning to see that such analyses as well as such reforms are inadequate. The evil is not only personal—it is industrial and economic. The mass of the people are not corrupt. We have not too much democracy. In all probability we have too little. The spoils system is pernicious, but it is not maintained by democracy so much as by business interests which use it for private ends. As a matter of fact we nowhere have a democratic government. What we really have is government by special privileges and big business men. These privileges are owned by leading members of the community. And they give us such government as best serves their business. Any government which is good for the people is bad for privilege, for privilege cannot be secured from honest officials, while disinterested men are kept out of politics not so much by the people as by the system of government which has grown up about these business interests.

Nor is the foreign voter greatly at fault, for Philadelphia is more corrupt than New York,

although Philadelphia is a city of American-born citizens. Moreover, Chicago, Boston, and New York have known corruption under the merit system just as do Cincinnati, Pittsburg, and St. Louis under the spoils system. The election returns in almost any city show that as discriminating voting is done in the mill districts as in the well-to-do, brownstone wards. Apparently the poor are not wholly to blame. Nor is the foreign voter. And while the spoils system is an evil, it does not explain the big corruption. The machine finds the model charter as easy to control as the earlier forms which it has superseded. While reform halts in Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and New York, where model charters, designed by the best talent of the community, have been adopted, it proceeds to success in Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and elsewhere where discredited forms of government survive. Something more than the legal framework is at fault.

Any one familiar with political conditions in any one of our large cities knows that the largest campaign contributions invariably come from the street railways, the gas and electric-lighting companies. These contributions are sometimes made to the Republican, sometimes to the Democratic party. Officials of these companies control the party committees. They name candidates for mayor, for tax officials, and for the council. In

the aldermanic districts the agents of the corporations supply the candidates with funds. In many of the wards they nominate the candidates upon both tickets. In addition to this they control the county auditor, who fixes the appraisal of their property for taxation.

On the organization of the council, the managers of franchise corporations caucus the members, select the candidates for president and clerk, and through them make up the committees. These officials form the lobby in the council chamber.

Wherever one may go the same phenomena appear. Always the boss is the recognized agent of the public service corporations. Everywhere campaign contributions come from the same source; everywhere hostility or apathy on the part of big business, everywhere the cry of socialism, of anarchy, whenever reform touches vested interests, everywhere a class-conscious distrust of democracy and an organized alliance between what President Roosevelt has termed "the criminal rich and the criminal poor." And when Mr. Steffens lent his open-minded skill to the task of reporting St. Louis, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and Chicago, as well as the states of Missouri, Illinois, New Jersey, and Wisconsin, the truth became even more apparent, and the root of the disease that is responsible for the "shame of the city" more clearly appeared.

In city and in state it is the greed for franchise grants and special privileges that explains the worst of the conditions. This is the universal cause of municipal shame. By privilege, democracy has been drugged. And this explanation is susceptible of deductive as well as inductive proof. The franchises are the most valuable gift in the possession of the city. Those to whom our cities have given millions, those who have been enriched by the city's liberality, those who have grown in wealth by the mere growth of population, have not been content with the city's generosity; but, like the serpent in the fable, have turned and stung the breast of those who have befriended them.

The fact that Cincinnati is governed by an ex-saloon keeper, that St. Louis has been ruled by a blacksmith, and that in every large city this type of boss appears, is not conclusive that we are governed by saloon keepers, blacksmiths, or prize-fighters. Neither Cox, Butler, nor Croker govern their respective cities. They are but representatives of privileged interests. They sit on the throne of power. But the real authority is behind them, invisible and secure, in the office of the big business man. Not the wholesale nor retail dealer, not even the jobber nor the manufacturer; not these any more than the spoilsman, the petty grafter, or the saloon keeper. The latter are but

camp followers, who join in the looting and form but the fringe of the system.

We have been living in a false philosophy. We have not what we want, but what we say we want. We want better government. We say we want a business men's government. We already have a business men's government, supplied through the agency of the boss. But he is the broker of unseen principals who own or control the privileged interests which have identified themselves with the government through the aid of the party. Herein lies the explanation of the inertia of the "best" people, the languor of reform, the burdens resting heavy on the shoulders of democracy.

Such evils as these will never be corrected through charter reform, the merit system, or the limitation of the suffrage. They are organic, not external. Reform will come and is coming by and through the people. The American city is awakening from below, whence reform has almost always come. New issues are arising of a popular nature seeking a readjustment of the burdens of city life. They seek relief from unjust taxation; the ownership or control of the franchise corporations; the opening up of life to the people through parks and playgrounds. With this has come a demand for greater responsiveness in the governmental machinery, so that it will be democratic in substance as well as in form. Distrust of party,

the caucus, and the convention is increasing, as well as the intrusion of business interests into the government.

Despite current pessimism, the outlook for the American city is reassuring. The city contains the independent vote. Here are the militant forces of our politics. As time goes on this independence will be extended to the state and the nation as well, with a consequent toning up of the larger issues in American life. To the city, we are to look for a rebirth of democracy, a democracy that will possess the instincts of the past along with a belief in the power of co-operative effort to relieve the costs which city life entails. We already see this manifest in many forms, in our schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, kindergartens, bath houses, where conservatism has not been so strengthened by vested interests as to be able to resist democracy's coming.

And if democracy has not justified its highest ideals, it has at least given assurances of great vitality in many cities. The city is the hope of the future. Here life is full and eager. Here the industrial issues, that are fast becoming dominant in political life, will first be worked out. In the city, democracy is organizing. It is becoming conscious of its powers. And as time goes on, these powers will be exercised to an increasing extent for the amelioration of those conditions that

modern industrial life has created. And to those who are fearful of this tendency towards increased activities and larger municipal powers, the words of Macaulay, in his essay on Milton, are suggestive:

"There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces; and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell he cannot bear the light of day; he is unable to discriminate colors, or recognize faces. But the remedy is, not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinion subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend, and begin to coalesce. And at length a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos.

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever."

CHAPTER II

THE NEW CIVILIZATION

The modern city marks an epoch in our civilization. Through it, a new society has been created. Life in all its relations has been altered. A new civilization has been born, a civilization whose identity with the past is one of historical continuity only.

We but dimly appreciate the full import of this fact. And yet, it is more significant, possibly more pregnant for the future than any previous political or social change. "Revolutionary" is an expression so loosely used that it scarce impresses us. But the modern city marks a revolution—a revolution in industry, politics, society, and life itself. Its coming has destroyed a rural society, whose making has occupied mankind since the fall of Rome. It has erased many of our most laborious achievements and turned to scrap many of our established ideas. Man has entered on an urban age. He has become a communal being. The increasing pressure of population is fast filling up the waste places of the globe. This, of itself, forecasts the life of the future. And in consequence, the city will no longer be an inci-

dental problem. It has already become the problem of society and the measure of our civilization.

The extent of this change is seen in the drift of population. Already four-fifths of the people of the United Kingdom dwell in cities. But one-fifth of Britain's teeming population, and that a diminishing fifth, lives on the soil it cultivates. In the United States we are so accustomed to an immense unoccupied western domain that the growth of our city population fails to impress us. In our thoughts, America is still an agricultural nation, and the city but an incident of our growth. But an examination of the census returns destroys this illusion. In 1800 but four per cent. of our population dwelt within city walls. By 1830 the percentage had crept up to six and seven-tenths. Thirty years later, at the outbreak of the Civil War, five millions, or sixteen and one-tenth per cent. of our people, were urban dwellers. Since that time, the growth of industry, the expanding network of railways that has been woven across the face of the continent, the ever-increasing inflow of immigration, have raised this ratio to thirty-three per cent. of the whole. To-day, more than twenty-five millions of America's population dwell in cities of over 8000 inhabitants, while nearly forty per cent. of the total reside in communities of over 4000 people. In the older and more developed commonwealths of the East, the

proportion of urban population is much higher. And it is in these states that we are to look for the real tendencies of our time. In Rhode Island eighty-one and two-tenths per cent. of the people dwell in cities, while Massachusetts has seventy-six per cent., New York sixty-eight and one-half per cent., New Jersey sixty-one and two-tenths per cent., and Connecticut fifty-three and two-tenths per cent. of their population as urban dwellers. Even Illinois, the great prairie state of the central West, is nearly one-half urban, while in California over forty per cent. of the people live under city conditions. And this movement to the city is bound to continue. The statistics of all countries demonstrate this fact. While the total population in America increased twenty and seven-tenths per cent. during the decade from 1890 to 1900, the urban population of the country increased thirty-seven per cent.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the City of New York contained more people within its jurisdiction than responded to the authority of the first President of the Republic. In a hundred years' time it has become the second city in the world. In the magnitude of its undertakings, it is easily first. No state of the Union, saving New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio, equals it in population, and not even these approach it in the splendor of their enterprise. Even the fed-

eral government was conducted at less expense than is the Empire City until the Civil War ushered in a new order of financing. The city's annual expenditures exceed $108,000,000. London, with forty per cent. more population, expends but seven-tenths as much. The annual budget of the Japanese Empire is but $120,000,000; of the Turkish Empire but $80,000,000 and of Holland and Switzerland combined but $80,000,000.

The area of the City of New York is three hundred square miles; that of London is but one hundred and eighteen; of Paris but thirty, and of Berlin but twenty-five. To-day America has three cities with over one and a quarter millions of people, while at least three other communities claim one-half that number. Nor is this but another of the colossal exhibits that America presents to the world, an incident of her newness and bigness. Close upon her heels crowd the cities of the old world in the percentage and rapidity of their growth. Even in Belgium and Holland, the cities grow in more rapid proportion than the total population; while in Australia, an agricultural country *par excellence,* two-thirds of the population is already urban.

Tremendous as this exhibit is, it probably marks but the beginning of the movement to the city. It has been suggested by Mr. H. G. Wells in his *Anticipations* that in time, London, St. Peters-

burg, and Berlin will each exceed 20,000,000 in population, while New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago will probably contain twice this number of people. In so far as New York and Chicago are concerned this is probably no fanciful estimate. People are already living on certain portions of Manhattan Island at a density, which, if continued throughout the entire city, would give New York a population of 197,372,635; while in as new a city as Cleveland, Ohio, straitened by none of the geographical limitations that confine New York, certain blocks are peopled at a rate which, if in force throughout the city, would give it a population of over eight million souls.

Already in America we can discern the development of the future, a development that is forecast by natural economic conditions. At no distant day, New York is destined to be the largest city on the globe. It is rapidly becoming the clearing house of the world. It is bound to be the cosmopolis of finance, shipping, and the allied interests. It will be the distributing agency for the supplies of other nations, an immense warehouse where the East and the West, the North and the South will meet in the exchange of their wares. The opening of the Isthmian Canal will accelerate this movement. Free trade would advance it by leaps and bounds. The city's docks will extend far up the Hudson as well as along the East River. In

time New York will assume the position now held by London, but a position enlarged many fold by the unparalleled growth of international trade, the extension of ocean commerce, and the coming of more extensive trade connections with Asia, South America, and Africa. From the beginning of international exchanges some city has been the recognized centre of the trade and financial activity of the world. Century by century this centre has shifted westward by way of Constantinople, Venice, Florence, the Hanseatic towns, and the Netherland cities. It ultimately stopped at London. And when the centre of commercial gravity passes across the Atlantic and New York becomes the clearing house of the world, it will be a city as much more dominant than London now is as London exceeds in importance the earlier clearing centres of the world.

This result is forecast by the law of political gravitation, by our bigness and wonderful resources. America is no longer largely a debtor country. Her credit power is being increased each year by hundreds of millions of dollars. Her natural resources have scarcely been touched, while those of other nations are in a state of relative exhaustion.

On a smaller scale, and in a sense tributary to New York, the cities of Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Seattle will expand

by the same forces; only shipping and the distribution of commodities will be the agencies of their growth. By the time the United States has doubled its population, these cities will have quadrupled theirs. In like manner, Chicago and St. Louis will perform for the central regions of America what New York now does for the eastern seaboard. They will be the jobbing centres of the country and in a sense for the world as well. The opening of the Panama Canal will place them in close and cheap trade connection with South America and the Orient. Already far-sighted business men are discussing deep waterway connections with the Gulf and the Atlantic seaboard through the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence River, or the Erie Canal. In time this dream will be realized. With that achieved the West will no longer be dependent upon railway transportation for an outlet to the sea, and the wealth of prairie production will reach its markets by the cheapest of all freights. At no distant day, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, and Duluth will be seaboard towns, for the opening of deep waterway connections to the sea is an insignificant engineering achievement in comparison with what has already been done.

By similar natural influences in the century that is dawning, the cities of Pittsburg and Cleveland will become the great industrial centres of the

world. To-day, steel is king, and iron, copper, coal, and oil are its handmaidens. Nature has exhausted her ingenuity in conjoining these great wealth-producing agencies about the region of which these cities are the centres. Already the city of Pittsburg, with its environs, has a population of nearly a million souls. The city of Cleveland has half that number. The valleys between these cities blaze for a hundred miles with blast furnaces, rolling mills, and foundries. In the Great Lakes region are found rich copper mines of which the Calumet and Hecla is chief. Iron ore is mined on the shores of Lake Superior by being scooped from the surface of the earth by steam-driven shovels, while natural gas, oil, and bituminous coal are distributed in almost inexhaustible quantities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. From mine to mill, the cost of transportation through the chain of Great Lakes has been reduced to the vanishing point. In this great central region, nature has decreed that Vulcan should prepare the timbers for the rebuilding of the world, for the construction of her cities, the building of her railways and steamships, and the opening up to civilization of Asia, South America, and South Africa.

Along with the great iron and steel industries go the lesser ones—the finishing processes, the machine and tool industries and the making of the

great enginery, and new tools that are subjugating nature in the wild places of the earth to the domestic needs of man. Not only will the two cities of Pittsburg and Cleveland become communities of two million inhabitants each, but the intervening region as well as the southern shore of Lake Erie will be one long succession of manufacturing towns like unto the midland cities of England. In time, the counties of southwestern Pennsylvania as well as northeastern Ohio will become a vast semi-urban community interdependent and closely connected in its activities—the forge shop of the world.

In this great centripetal movement of the people to the city, the seaboard and Great Lakes towns will enjoy the greatest growth. This is inevitable. Ease and cheapness of access to market has become a determining element in the development of cities, just as it has in the growth of nations.

Through the enlarging of trade connections from state to nation, and from the nation to the world at large, the great cities have become the counters across which commodities are exchanged. Within a short hundred years the local fair, that Adam Smith described as prevailing in England prior to the industrial revolution, has become a world's fair, and barter, sale, and exchange are now performed by clearing-house agencies which are as infinitely delicate and myriad in their rami-

fications as the nervous system of the human body. And in this world movement, the city is the centre.

Along with the forces that have been enumerated are certain minor and, in a sense, more obvious ones which are drawing mankind to the city. The steam railway is being supplemented by the electric inter-urban line. It is a cheap form of transit, and has already developed into trunk-line connections with facilities for long-distance travel. Through these agencies, the city is being ruralized and the country is being urbanized. Thousands of men are now linked to the town for their livelihood, recreation, education, and interests, who a few years since were as hopelessly removed from these advantages as though they had resided a hundred miles away. At the same time, an increasing number of people are drifting into the country, in order that they may escape the burdens of city life and at the same time enjoy the advantages which it offers.

The industrial revolution of which the city is a product is beginning to revolutionize the country as well as the city. Through improved machinery, three men are now able to produce from the soil food for a thousand; while the growth of large farms and the division of agricultural industry have relieved the farmer of many burdens, and at the same time rendered him depend-

ent upon the city. The telephone and the free rural postal delivery have united the farmer with his market. And the day is not far distant when broad highways suitable for motor carriages as well as electric trolley communication will enable him to live under urban surroundings and readily manage his farm without that sacrifice which residence in the country now involves. Moreover, we are just on the threshold of a development in motor and electric traction that will expand city boundaries in a way at the present time impossible. The beginnings of this development are already apparent in New York, which is being burrowed under in every direction like a rabbit warren to accommodate the pressure of population. In the century that is dawning Manhattan Island will become little more than an immense clearing house of trade, like the city of London proper, whose population dwindles to thousands at night, although millions of people crowd its banks, offices, and streets by day. Within little more than a decade, the region from Washington Square to Central Park has been appropriated for business purposes, and in time the island itself will become a mountainous pile of sky-scraping buildings devoted to banking, business, wholesale establishments, offices, public purposes, hotels, clubs, and theatres. This change will drive the city's population far out into New York, New Jersey,

and Connecticut. Philadelphia will be as accessible to the City Hall as Harlem is to-day. Coming generations will be able to live fifty or a hundred miles from their work more comfortably than they now live one-tenth of that distance; while the cost of transportation will be no more than it now is upon the city streets. Given a sufficiently heavy traffic, and passengers can be carried fifty miles as cheaply as they can a hundred blocks. In the country, the original cost of construction is not so great as in the city. Nor are the operating expenses any more. For it is the frequent stopping and starting of electric cars that is a burden on energy, and this will be so reduced that long-distance travel can be carried at a greatly reduced cost.

Recent experiments in electric transmission have demonstrated that a speed of a hundred miles an hour is easily attainable, while the undeveloped energy of Niagara, the Susquehanna, as well as of the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada Ranges, will furnish the cheapest of propelling powers. In one of the Cantons in Switzerland water power is being used to light the country for a radius of thirty miles by electricity. In Scotland and England the supply of water and gas is being extended far into the rural regions, while in America the telephone, rural free delivery, and the inter-urban traction lines are

rapidly destroying the isolation of the country and bringing the farmer into semi-urban conditions of life.

But it is not my purpose to engage in speculation regarding the tendencies of city growth. The nineteenth century has unloosed the genii of industrialism, and we cannot go back to the simple agricultural conditions of an earlier age. They are as closed to us as is the patriarchal one of simple nomadism. The city has become the central feature in modern civilization, and to an ever-increasing extent the dominant one. Never before outside of China, with the possible exceptions of ancient Rome and Babylon, has society been organized on such a basis, and the earlier type of city, it need hardly be said, offers little in common with the modern "abyss," which, like a whirlpool, draws to its vortex the good and the bad, the strong and the weak, and which, in some form or other, is the final form of organized political life. For formerly the town was an ecclesiastical, feudal guild, or commercial affair. Its trade was carried on through the agency of the fair. Politically, more democratic than feudalism, it was still a close corporation. Socially, it was aristocratic. Its gates were barred to the stranger. The octroi was a barrier to prevent intercourse.

And this rural civilization, whose making has

engaged mankind since the dawn of history, is passing away. The modern city has erased the landmarks of an earlier society. Man has entered on an urban age, the final stage of his development. The past is as closed to us as are the barbed enclosures of the occupied West to the dispossessed Red Man. Nature has been harnessed, the earth has been tapped, the dormant energy of the earth's resources has been subjugated, and mankind has become bound together by millions of Lilliputian bands drawing mankind into an intimate relationship, a common dependency, from which there is no escape and no return possible to the early life of domestic industry, personal independence, and political simplicity. We have tasted the wine of many wants; our life has become one of divided powers and responsibilities, and society has developed into an organism like the human body, of which the city is the head, heart, and centre of the nervous system.

This industrial revolution has been accompanied by a political change scarcely less significant. For while the city has given birth to a hierarchical organization of industry, with class and mass distinctions, with great wealth close beside unprecedented poverty, it has also brought in new political forces, increasingly hostile to the industrial regimen which has created it. For the first time in history we have a really democratic

city, safeguarded in its democracy by law. Through this fact the city has become a tremendous agency for human advancement. It already serves us to a greater extent than does the state or the nation. It is an organism capable of conscious and concerted action, responsive, ready, and intelligent. The ease of organization, the responsiveness of the official to his constituents, the comparative inexpensiveness of experimentation, all indicate that the city is to be the arena where the social and political forces that are coming to the fore will play. This fact is scarcely less significant than the city itself, for with universal education, a free press, a free ballot, all contributing to the formation of definite political and social ideals, civilization is armed with powers such as she has never before enjoyed, powers whose possibilities for the future it is as impossible to measure as are the movements of society itself.

CHAPTER III

THE PROFIT ACCOUNT

This *bouleversement* of society, this change from the country to the city, from individualism to communalism, from the self-sufficient household to the self-sufficient city; this shifting of the centre of life from the individual to the many, from isolation and independence to unity and dependence, has been accompanied by gains and losses to society. The city has woven our lives into the lives of others. No longer is each household an independent one, producing for its own wants alone and supplied from within. The texture of the fabric has been altered. It is now closely woven. And this change is far more than an industrial one —a mere adjustment of mankind to his work. It is but part of man's desire for a larger life, for freer social intercourse, for amusement, as well as a response to the industrial revolution which has superseded domestic industry by the machine.

Within the city the game of life is played, and there are many capital prizes. Here, opportunity and fortune are to be found. Here business centres. Here life is full and human. The farm offers none of these things. It is barren of great

possibilities, barren, even, of a living, the farmer says. The city is El Dorado, the promised land which fires the imagination. Failure may come, it is true, but there is the chance, and life, movement, and recreation even in failure. The saloon is something, while the streets, the parks, the theatre, the church, one's fellows, all make up the canvas of life even to the poorest.

And the city has given the world culture, enlightenment, and education along with industry and commercial opportunity. The advance in recent years in this regard has been tremendous. Compare our London, Paris, Berlin, or New York with these cities fifty years ago. Then, life in any large sense was limited to a few. To-day, to an ever-increasing mass of the population, opportunities are crowding one upon another. Not only is education generously adapted to the needs of all, but night schools, art exhibitions, popular lectures and concerts, college settlements, the parks, playgrounds, a cheap press, labor organizations, the church, all these are bringing enlightenment at a pace never before dreamed of. Day by day opportunities gain in volume. A decade almost encompasses the history of such movements for democratic opportunity.

All this is enlarging life, modifying our civilization, deepening the significance of democracy. It is rendering possible a higher standard of liv-

ing. A new conception of municipal purpose has come in. It is neither conscious nor defined as yet, but in the midst of the outward manifestations of municipal activity, an unrecognized broadening of the culture and life of the city is going on, of immense significance to the future.

Much of this is being expressed through private channels. But that the private activities of to-day will become the public ones of to-morrow is inevitable. The crèche, kindergarten, settlement, playgrounds, public baths, lodging houses, hospitals were inspired by private philanthropy. They are slowly passing under public control. Merely to enumerate what has been done during the past few years in the matter of school administration would form a chapter in itself. The same is true of the care of juvenile offenders. It is manifest in every department of city affairs. The possibility of life is increasing more rapidly than at any other period in the history of the world. It is less than a decade since Josiah Quincy, while Mayor of Boston, proposed the erection of public baths and gymnasiums and the opening of playgrounds in the poorer sections of the city. When made, the suggestion was assailed as socialistic. To-day, without protest, the City of Boston expends $500,000 annually for parks and playgrounds and over $100,000 annually for baths and gymnasiums. Over $3,000,000

has been expended for these purposes in a few years' time. There are now twenty-one playgrounds in the city; while summer camps, public concerts, bathing beaches, and public lavatories have still further added to the comfort of the poor. During this interval, appropriations for these purposes have crept into the budgets of nearly all of our large cities, while kindergartens, summer schools, manual training, free lectures, and public concerts are rapidly finding a place in city administration along with the expenditures for police, fire, and health protection.

But such a schedule of items is but a small part of the gain which civilization has made through the city. They are but evidences of the fact that life has become a social, not an isolated thing. The entire groundwork of society is being relaid under a system of closer political relationship. But a few generations ago, civilization was based on individualistic lines. The city has brought us whatever sense of social responsibility we now have. In a sense all this is socialism. We do not call it that. But neither does the German nor the Englishman call the undertakings of his city socialistic.

The humanizing forces of to-day are almost all proceeding from the city. They are creating a new moral sense, a new conception of the obligations of political life, obligations which, in earlier

conditions of society, did not and could not exist. Step by step individual rights have been merged into larger social ones. And it is this very increase in public activities that renders the city as attractive to the rich as it is to the poor. In earlier days, even the most elementary public functions were performed by the individual. He paved, cleaned, and lighted the street before his door. He was his own constable. Such health protection as he enjoyed was the result of his own vigilance. Education was conducted at home or by the church. The library was a priestly possession, as was all learning. His house was his castle, even in the midst of the city, and society offered him little save the administration of justice and protection from foreign foes.

To-day the city protects his life and his property from injury. It safeguards his health in countless ways. It oversees his house-construction, and protects him from fire. It cleans and lights his streets, collects his garbage, supplies him with employees through free employment bureaus. It educates his children, supplies them with books, and in many instances with food. It offers him a library, and through the opening of branches almost brings it to his door. It offers nature in the parks; supplies him with opportunities for recreation and pleasure through concerts, lectures, and the like. It maintains a public market; ad-

ministers justice; supplies nurses, physicians, and hospital service, as well as a cemetery for burial. It takes the refuse from his door and brings back water, gas, and frequently heat and power at the same time. It inspects his food, protects his life, and that of his children through public oversight of the conditions of factory labor. It safeguards him from contagious diseases, facilitates communication upon the streets, and in some instances offers opportunities for higher technical and professional education.

All these intrusions into the field of private business have involved no loss of freedom to the individual. Every increase of public activity has, in fact, added to personal freedom. Whatever the motive, the real liberty of the individual has been immeasurably enlarged through the assumption of these activities by the city.

And all this has been achieved at an insignificant cost. The expenditure of the average city of over a quarter of a million inhabitants ranges from $16 to $34 per capita, or from $60 to $136 per family, a sum which would scarcely pay for the education of a single child at a private institution. And while incompetence, extravagance, and frequently corruption have accompanied much of it, there are few who would contend that the private watchman is more efficient than the public fireman, that private education is better

than public education, that the supply of gas from a private company is cheaper or better than the supply of water under public control.

Such are some of the palpable gains which the city has brought. But the real gain is far more than an enumeration of services or a schedule of activities. The real significance of it all is found in the fact that democracy has been forced into activities which have heretofore lain outside of the sphere of government. The relationships of society are changing. We are being drawn into an intimacy, a solidarity, which makes the welfare of one the welfare of all. A finer spirit is being born. The city is being socialized. It is coming to feel the cruelty of nature's laws and to alleviate their poignancy. The hospitals, parks, kindergartens, playgrounds, and reform schools were the first expression of this feeling. The movement has since changed in character. Its motives are justice, rather than philanthropy, and it is expressing itself in a demand for reform in our methods of taxation, the solution of the housing problem, in a desire for cheaper water, transportation, and light.

What the lines of future activity will be, we can only conjecture. Measured by what has been done in the past ten years, the change will be tremendous. For, once organized, modern democracy moves with increasing momentum. We may call

it socialism if we will. This will scarce check its advance. And when these newer services come, their arrival will be welcomed by all classes just as were the public schools, libraries, parks, and water works, the police, fire, and health departments, whose control by the city has increased the happiness and safety of city life to all.

CHAPTER IV

THE LOSS ACCOUNT

But along with the gain there is a loss account, a terrible loss account. The city has replaced simplicity, industrial freedom, and equality of fortune with complexity, dependence, poverty, and misery close beside a barbaric luxury like unto that of ancient Rome. Vice, crime, and disease have come in. The death rate has increased, while infectious diseases and infant mortality ravage the crowded quarters. The city has destroyed the home and substituted for it the hotel, flat, tenement, boarding house, and cheap lodging house. Our politics have suffered, and corruption has so allied itself with our institutions that many despair of democracy. The city exacts an awful price for the gain it has given us, a price that is being paid in human life, suffering, and the decay of virtue and the family. Just as in mediæval times, some of the burghers of a beleaguered town paid the forfeit of their lives that the others might live, so the modern city avenges itself upon humanity by vicariously taking of those who risk her favor.

According to the investigations of Charles Booth, a London-born family disappears in about

three generations. Human life seems to require a ground wire to the sod, a connection with Mother Earth to maintain its virility. According to Mr. Galton, only about one-half as many children of artisans grow up in a typical manufacturing town, as in the case of the children of laboring people in a healthy country district. In the abyss of London, Paris, Berlin, New York, and Chicago, the family often ends with itself. It dies of town disease. The whirlpool of city life claims all in time. Those who fail, it claims at once. Were it not for the steady stream of rugged strength from the countryside, the city would ultimately lose its population.

And it is not alone those who win who have made the city. The police court docket produces such headlines for the daily press as: "Once a Millionaire," "Formerly a Leading Professional Man," "At One Time a Leader in Society, Now in the Workhouse." These failed. But they did not always fail. And the unnumbered thousands who have come to the city, the artisans, workmen, girls who gave their life to work so long as work was to be had, are part of the same sacrifice. They form the hecatomb of human life that the modern city, like an Oriental idol, exacts from society. And it is they who have built our homes, manned our industry, and amassed the wealth that they did not enjoy. Through them, wealth and culture have

come. They are like the toilers of the hive, who by some hidden secret of nature fulfil their destiny in death for the well-being of the swarm.

Out of the three million five hundred thousand inhabitants in the great area of metropolitan New York, there are but twenty-five thousand persons who appear upon the tax-assessors' books as owners of personal property. But one person out of every one hundred and forty possesses sufficient property to warrant a return under the general property tax. And the number of persons owning real property is not much if any more. For in our cities the dweller has become a tenant. Mankind has been dispossessed of the soil. In Greater New York scarcely four per cent. of the families live in their own unencumbered homes, while on Manhattan Island the percentage falls to two per cent. The city has given birth to a landless proletariat. The growth of population does this. Society creates a value and then is charged for the privilege of enjoying it. And neither thrift, economy, nor prudence can prevent it. For the average city dweller, even though he saved all of his earnings, could not possess himself of a freehold, or live upon it once secured.

And this loss, this sacrifice, is a vicarious one. The individual takes his chance, but his winnings or his losings alike go to the upbuilding of the city. The vagabond, the sick, the destitute, the

prostitute, the flotsam and jetsam of the community who find their way to the cheap lodging house, the streets, the prisons, have lost their all, but they have contributed it to the city, to its industry and life. For the country does not breed this class, and few men are failures, outcasts, or criminals from choice. Any one who has taken the trouble to follow this human wreckage back through its terrible experience knows this. Men and women come to the city buoyant with hope, eager for work. At best, employment is precarious and irregular. This irregularity of city work is the most demoralizing thing of all. "When employment is precarious," says Professor Foxwell, "thrift and self-reliance are discouraged. The savings of years may be swallowed up in a few months. A fatalistic spirit is developed. Where all is uncertain, and there is not much to lose, reckless over-population is certain to be set at. These effects are not confined to the poorer classes. The business world is equally demoralized by industrial speculation. Careful prevision cannot reckon upon receiving its due return, and speculation of the purest gambling type is thereby encouraged. But the working class suffer most."[1] Under these conditions, men live from hand to mouth. Once out of employment, the landlord closes the door upon them. Then comes the pawn-

[1] *Claims of Labor*, p. 196

shop to maintain life for a few weeks longer. Soon the cheap lodging house absorbs them with its filth and common helplessness. In time, the saloon is the only open door. And soon even it refuses to open to them. Loss of companionship, the most cruel loss of all, fills the cup to overflowing, and a sense of lost respect, helplessness, hopelessness, and utter alienation from society settles down. Then comes the charge of "vagrancy," "no visible means of support," "suspicion," which starts a new cycle of the police court and the workhouse with its brand of crime. Then freedom and vagrancy again, possibly some petty misdemeanor; then arrest, conviction, and ultimate extinction of self-respect, followed by the penitentiary and a life of regular crime. London, with less than one-fifth of the population of England and Wales, produces one-third of the crime. In Philadelphia, a city of high comfort, there is seven times as much crime to a given population as in the country districts; while in New York, nearly all of the offenders come from the cities. I have known men go through these experiences, men who were college-bred, men who were trained, women who had come to the city from necessity. I have known them pass from one social scale to another until they reached the marginal boarding house where the last stand was made. Every large city contains this class, not to speak of the

infinitely larger number of artisans, unskilled workmen, common hands who cannot catch on. They do not know the ropes, even when opportunity, work, a livelihood is to be had.

This is part of the cost we pay for the city. It appears along with the mill, the factory, the sweatshop, and the counter. And this wreckage is incidental to the new civilization whose centre is the city, and which decays at the extremities among the very poor. In the rural districts it is not found. In the smaller towns only occasional traces of it appear.

We can calculate this cost of town disease with as much precision as an actuary can a mortuary table. Community by community, it is much the same. It rises in periods of depression and falls in periods of prosperity. It is diminished by work, education, recreation, and opportunity and is increased by ignorance, the tenement, and careless criminal administration. But the principal cause is industrial.

We find humanity making its last stand in the cheap lodging house, conscious of lost opportunity and departed respectability. It sits brooding at the shop counter, in the factory, and the sweatshop, where woman's virtue is battling for life on four or five dollars a week. One who follows the police patrol from the streets to the police stations, or spends an evening in the cheap lodging

house, may see the beginning of the hardening round that ultimately ends in despair. Here the drag-net of hard times, irregular employment, loss of family gathers the flotsam and jetsam of the city; here are those who have been driven from the streets by cold, hunger, or the " move on " of the policeman. Companionship is gone, self-respect has vanished; for self-respect among the poor hinges upon work, and empty hands bring no welcome at home, in the saloon, or elsewhere. The beginning of the cycle is here, and we make little effort to stay its progress.

That this is not an overdrawn picture of modern city life the reports of public and private investigation confirm. Contemporary literature is filled with it. Here is the evidence of a man of science, Professor Thomas H. Huxley:

" Any one who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . that condition which the French call *la misère,* a word for which I do not think there is an exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into

dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave. . . . When the organization of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it; when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. I take it to be a plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly as described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."

Similar evidences are coming to light in America. And while we have no such exhaustive investigations as those of Mr. Charles Booth in London and Mr. B. S. Rountree in York, England, we have the testimony of those whose life has been identified with the poor and helpless of our great cities. In 1904 there were 700,000 persons in New York

who were the recipients of relief from one agency or another. This is one-fifth of the population. In the previous year 60,463 families were evicted for the non-payment of rent in the Borough of Manhattan alone, or about fourteen per cent. of the total number of families. This means that 300,000 persons were unable to find the meagre means with which to pay for the squalid tenements that answer by the name of home; it was a number far in excess of the recorded evictions in all Ireland in ten years' time. It has been estimated by Mr. Robert Hunter that not less than fourteen per cent. of the people in good times and twenty per cent. in bad times are in distress. And still not more than one-half of the people actually in need ever apply for relief. According to the same authority the number of persons in poverty in the large industrial centres of America rarely falls below twenty-five per cent. of the people. "I have not the slightest doubt," says Mr. Hunter, "that there are in the United States ten millions in precisely these conditions of poverty, but I am merely guessing, and there may be as many as fifteen or twenty millions."[1]

Must the city, of necessity, exact such sacrifice? For the few inordinate wealth and luxury, for a numerous middle class a larger degree of comfort and convenience than society elsewhere

[1] *Poverty*, p. 11.

offers, and for an ever-increasing residuum little save poverty, the tenement, and ultimate extinction? Or is the Rome of the days of the decaying Republic, the Rome of a few patrician families with hundreds of thousands of hopeless, landless, propertyless freemen clamoring for bread, the type to which even the modern democratic city is drifting?

Unquestionably such a tendency is already apparent in America. For no cities of the western world, saving London, Glasgow, and possibly two or three other British cities, offer a parallel to the conditions which exist in New York, Boston, Chicago, and elsewhere. There are certain economic tendencies in Anglo-Saxon institutions that seem to be inexorable. These tendencies are constantly increasing the masses of the poorer, whether or not they are constantly making the rich richer. Some of these tendencies have reached their logical conclusion in Great Britain, where they have produced a condition that is sapping the life of the nation. Similar forces are at work in America, which, if unchecked, will lead to an increasing proletariat.

For some years to come these tendencies may be ignored, but in the end they must be met if American civilization is to continue to higher development. For the life of the future is to be an urban life. And to an ever-increasing extent

the city will continue to take its hostages in poverty, disease, and crime, from those who brave her favor.

In the following pages an attempt is made to analyze this loss and discover its causes. It is difficult to believe that the advance in civilization which has made all nature tribute to man's energy should involve such a burden, or that the revolution in industry which has increased the productive power of the world a thousand-fold should of necessity leave an increasing proportion of mankind worse off than they were before. That the city should of necessity involve such a price seems a denial of human intelligence and the wisdom of God's plan.

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN CITY AT WORK

Up to the present time the boss has been the American city's only apologist. He alone is proud of his city, and stands ready to defend it before the world. To him the city is representative government at its best.

Of critics, on the other hand, we have had a host. The press, the pulpit, the legislature, the reformer have all taken a hand in the condemnation proceedings. The extravagance, the failures, and the waste have all been noted; the absence of business methods has been condemned, but the obstacles overcome, not to speak of the triumphs actually achieved, have been overlooked, while the margin of real efficiency has not been computed. All this is an indication of our intolerance of things that are not good. By all, the burden of taxation is borne grudgingly, and is usually attributed to waste, if not to corruption. In fact, the prevalent descriptions of municipal administration with which we are familiar, and the convictions of the average man as to the city in which he lives, suggest a condition little short of political chaos. Even reform organizations manifest

this feeling of distrust, and their activity ceases on the eve of an election, to be resumed only as the next one approaches.

As a matter of fact, such an attitude is not true. Our cities are bad enough, but they are not all bad. And they are constantly growing better. And the boss and the official are often justified in their pride. The condition of the average American city does not warrant the wholesale condemnation that is so common, any more than it justifies the complacent defiance of the boss. A just estimate of all the cities, as well as of all their performances, leaves a balance to the good. And everywhere are manifest signs of awakening interest, together with a disposition to correct the worst abuses.

A certain perspective is necessary to appreciate this fact. In the first place, it must be remembered that the American city is not only a new problem, it is a new thing. In this it differs from the cities of Europe, which it is our custom to extol. Away from the Atlantic seaboard, most of our great cities have arisen within a generation. They came into existence in response to an industrial demand. The extension of the railways projected settlements. Business and commerce began. Labor was in demand. Here and there industrial ganglia appeared. Shops and factories came into existence. The opportunity to

work brought humanity. Homes were built. Places of worship and amusement arose. Order was established, and officers were elected. Wherever this tangled mass of activities appeared they called it a city. It was in fact an economic happening, an industrial accident.

A lot of cross streets on which houses are built do not constitute a city. Even though paving is laid in these streets, and sewers are made in these streets, they do not constitute a city. Even though people live in the houses, and move through the churches and theatres, they have not made a city. They have made an urban aggregation. A world's fair might as well pass for a city. But when within this human group, out of its common interest and common need, conscience is born and responsibility awakened; when will power and intelligence are civic forces, focussing on a united purpose and a definite ideal; when in addition to self-consciousness and family-consciousness there arises a city-consciousness, that instinct which is willingness to struggle for the common weal, and suffer for the common woe, —then, and not until then does the city spring into life.

In the true sense of the word, the urban aggregations of people in the United States have not yet become cities. Their existence is not unlike that frontier life which has ever been found

in some portion of the United States in advance of political organization. They have existed without living in the sense that the European city lives, and organized public opinion has served as a sort of vigilance committee to prevent the worse sort of excesses.

The citizen is but a reflection of this fact. He came to the city in response to an industrial demand, with no political traditions, and untrained to organized effort. He came from the country and from the Old World. And the official and the city had no experience, no background of tradition, no organized purpose to inspire their movements. We have had no municipal ideals, no base line from which to work. The first expression of the city was the satisfaction of the industrial needs that gathered the people together. The protection of property from fire, and person and property from violence, were the earliest needs. These, with the paving and cleaning of the streets, the protection of health and the affording of means of communication, followed along with the public schools. These were the pressing needs. They were born of industrial necessity. The inspiration of early reform movements was a desire for a business men's government. The city was looked upon as a commercial enterprise, and a solution of its problems was to be found through the election of business men to office.

Of late years this brick and mortar life, representative of industrial ideals, has been assuming a higher order of organization. A city sense is being created. Reform movements have taken on a new character. They are no longer satisfied with a commercial ideal of government. It does not appeal to the imagination. At best it suggests a sordid idea of government. And reform has learned that little was to be expected from a campaign conducted on the issue of mere economy and business interest. Moreover, in recent years, the city has changed its character and slowly enlarged the scope of its activities. New functions have been assumed. They are taken on in response to necessity as well as an enlarged sympathy. The city dweller has become a citizen. His social sense is being organized and his demands upon the government have been rapidly increasing. The city has responded to the change which has come over the citizen. He came to the city as his workshop; a place in which to make a living. The city was this and nothing more. But gradually, as the citizen demanded other things, the community responded to his ideals. Had we a wider historical perspective of this evolution, we should not be so despondent. For an appreciation of what has been done in Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Baltimore, Pittsburg, and elsewhere is conclusive of the improvement which

has come about in recent years and a demonstration of the power of democracy to work out its problems.

In yet other respects we have lacked discrimination in our criticisms of the city. All cities have been classed together as hopelessly corrupt. But in any appraisal of conditions, it is necessary to bear in mind: first, that there is a tremendous difference in cities; and, second, that there is an equally big difference in the efficiency with which the city performs its many functions.

For a generation the city of Washington has known no serious scandal. Its departments are intelligently and economically administered. Its official class is dignified and of a high order of talent. True, Washington is governed in an autocratic way, for in the Capital City the citizen is disfranchized. Three commissioners appointed by the President perform the functions usually entrusted to the Mayor and the heads of city departments, while Congress itself is the Board of Aldermen.

Washington is probably as honestly governed as is any European municipality, and it has been for years. Its streets are clean, well lighted, and well protected by police. Its school system is among the best, and its health, fire, and many other departments are beyond serious criticism.

During the two years of Mayor Low's adminis-

tration, New York enjoyed a government which equalled in enterprise and progressiveness any city in the Old World. The executive departments were filled by men above reproach, men who served the city with an indifference to personal sacrifice that no city on the continent can surpass. Outside of the Board of Aldermen, every branch of the government was toned up, while a public spirit was created that has prevented a relapse into the conditions which at times had rendered New York a reproach to the country. This was especially manifest in the police and school administration, the building and tenement-house departments, the cleaning and construction of the streets, the care of the poor and dependent classes, the administration of law and order, the supervision of vice, and in all those departments of city housekeeping that make for orderliness, cleanliness, and comfort. The administration of Mayor McClellan has adopted many of these standards as its own, and its two years of service have demonstrated that even Tammany Hall learns easily when under the spur of an awakened public sentiment.

It is but a few years since Chicago seemed hopeless in its official corruption. Its government had apparently sunk to the bottom. Graft, commercialism, and petty thievery were organized in almost every department of the city. A syndi-

cate of fifty-five "gray wolves" controlled the council and bartered in franchises and vice. But Chicago awoke. Unlike New York, she awoke from below. Her reform was a democratic one, and for this reason permanent. It bore no aristocratic trappings and adopted the rough and ready methods characteristic of the West. Municipal reform in Chicago organized the people, not as a vigilance committee for temporary protection, but as a people's party bent on a permanent and positive programme. Year after year, the contest has been continued, until the "gray wolves" have been driven out, and a Board of Aldermen whose service to the city is characterized by as much honesty as its predecessor's was marked by dishonesty, has finally been placed in control. It must be remembered, too, that Chicago is solving the elemental problems. Her energy is being devoted to the building of sewers, the laying out of streets, the construction of a drainage canal, the development of a splendid park system, the elimination of grade crossings, and the settlement of the traction question. Eastern cities, on the other hand, are more largely engaged in the finishing processes. Their civilization is older. And yet Chicago already has an efficient civil service reform law, its accounting system has been placed upon a scientific business basis, while one after another of the city departments has been reor-

ganized under the spur of an awakened public opinion which is determined that public administration shall conform to the restless energy that has made the city great.

But Chicago has done much more than this. Wearied, as was the city of Glasgow, over a long conflict with the traction interests, the conviction has grown in volume that the city should own its means of transit. Public-spirited organizations, almost unaided by the city administration, have forced the people to listen to their demands. Under a law providing for the initiative and referendum, the demand for public ownership was submitted to the people in the spring of 1904, and was carried by a vote of 120,744 in favor of immediate acquisition to 50,893 against it. It is this democratic flavor of reform in Chicago that makes for its permanence. For reforms which are based on candidates merely, are temporary and uncertain, those based on principle and conviction are abiding. New York City ebbs and flows in its reform movements, because the confidence of the people has not been secured. To many, reform means only a shifting of party and not of control, for New York has not recognized the deep-seated sense of democracy in the people. It is this fact which distinguishes the Empire City from Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and Toledo. Reforms in these cities have been triumphs of

the people. Reform can come in no other way. In New York reform was a triumph of the Citizens' Union. Relapse always follows any reform that is founded upon an issue that does not command the adherence of the mass of the people. The excise question split New York, as it will always do, because a large portion, possibly a majority of the people, believe in a liberal Sunday. And so long as the state retains its control of the excise question, and denies its solution by the people of the city themselves, reform will carry a heavy load.

Some years ago, Hazen S. Pingree was elected as a business mayor in Detroit. His energy led him into conflict with the privileged corporations. He established a municipal electric-lighting plant, secured a competing street-railway system with a cheaper fare, called to the council men of better character, and left Detroit, when he passed into the Governorship, a well-administered city. Here, as in Chicago, Cleveland, and Baltimore, reform was secured through the old-established parties. But it came in through a democratic movement which overthrew the existing machine and made its appeal directly to the people.

Across the lake, in Cleveland, a similar controversy had been going on for years. In Cleveland, as in Detroit, reform came about through the party organization. But here a Republican city

was converted into a Democratic one, and Tom L. Johnson was twice elected mayor by an increasing independent vote. Here also the contest has been waged on democratic lines. The issues have been social and economic. They have centred about an increase in the activities of the city and the comfort and happiness of the people. To-day the city's educational system is one of the best in the country. Its library development has been brought down to the people. Natural gas as a fuel has been introduced from the fields of West Virginia. The price of artificial gas has been reduced to seventy-five cents a thousand cubic feet. The Water Department is in the hands of the city. Its source of supply has been extended, and placed beyond fear of contamination through the construction of a tunnel extending five miles out into the lake. The city has entered upon a policy of metering all consumers, the first large city in the country to adopt this radical reform.

For years the issue of lower street-car fares has been waged in the hope of securing cheaper transportation; while tax equalization and the assessing of public service corporations on their franchise value has been part of the municipal programme. Environing the city is a splendid system of parks, resting upon the lake front, and connected by magnificent boulevards. These

parks have been thrown open to the largest use by the people. Public bathing establishments have been opened along the water front, while an all-the-year-round bath house, with public laundry equipment, has been built. In the crowded quarters over twenty playgrounds have been laid out for the recreation of the poor.

A comprehensive policy for the reform of juvenile delinquents has been inaugurated, which aims at the care and correction of youthful offenders without criminal punishment. A juvenile court, presided over by the Judge of the Insolvency Court, has been established, which removes this class of cases from the Police Court with the demoralizing influences which follow. Truants, orphans, vagrant boys, and petty offenders are cared for through probation officers, and held to an accountability to law and order through kindness and attention rather than through the criminal code. Supplemental to this work, the city has established a Farm School, known as Boyville, and modelled after the George Junior Republic, where youthful offenders are detained for instruction and moral upbuilding. Instead of the brand of crime, a sense of affection has been substituted, and an *esprit de corps* for the school. Cleveland has endeavored to stop crime at its source by preventive measures. Help has been substituted for hurt, and kindness for fear.

The city's police and fire departments have been placed upon a plane of high efficiency. The "white-wing" system has been introduced and the city's streets properly cleaned and lighted. The accounting department is upon a business basis, and the official personnel of the executive departments is above reproach.

Along with these movements the city has entered on a systematic grouping of its public buildings, which will be unsurpassed in America outside of the city of Washington. A distinguished body of non-resident architects has been employed to supervise all public structures, and a comprehensive plan adopted for the grouping of the City Hall, Public Library, County Court House, Federal Building, and Union Station. These buildings surround a spacious mall leading from the business section of the city out upon the lake front.

Such examples as these must be borne in mind in any appraisal of the American city. The ill repute of Minneapolis, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and others must not be permitted to overshadow the striking examples of efficiency which many cities present.

Moreover, there are certain realms of municipal activity that are above serious criticism. Our fire departments are the most efficient in the world, and are maintained at relatively small cost. The same is true of the administration of

3764

our parks, which is practically free from graft. The American library is the best in the world. A high order of ability is found serving upon its boards, and the maximum of service is attained through the introduction of branch libraries, distributing agencies, and the like. The public-school system, too, is a democratic movement, and even St. Louis, whose corruption has been held up to the scrutiny of the world, has, according to the statement of President Eliot of Harvard, the best school system in America. But good schools are not exceptional. For in most cities public opinion has been jealous of any intrusion of corruption into public education.

In the activities just enumerated the American city is in advance of the cities of Great Britain and Germany. There is much to be learned by us from the honesty, efficiency and economy, as well as from the public spirit of their officials. But while foreign cities are working out the problems of municipal ownership, of Civil Service Reform, of adornment, the American city has better schools and kindergartens; our libraries are the models of the world, as are our fire departments. More is being done by us for the poor in playgrounds and parks than by any other country, while philanthropy is relieving the severity of the law in the treatment of poverty, vice, and crime. Further than this, all over America the city is be-

coming an object of enthusiastic interest in the matter of artistic improvement. We are working for a beautiful as well as a clean city.

In the matter of public work it is likewise necessary to discriminate. The city of Boston, through its Metropolitan Commissions, has developed one of the finest park, water, and sewage systems in the world. The water supply of New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Milwaukee, not to speak of many less important cities, has been developed to a high standard of service. The city of New York is gradually acquiring all the dockage upon the North and East Rivers, and derives from this source an annual net revenue of $875,000. The same city has constructed recreation piers upon the North and East Rivers for the relief of the slums, while Chicago has carried through an immense sewage-canal project, connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi River.

Such exhibits as these must not be overlooked in an appraisal of our cities. Moreover, when comparison is made with Paris, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, and other continental cities, it is to be remembered that the American city is essentially an industrial centre, while the European city in a large sense is not. This accounts for the skyscraper, the smoke, the dirt, the lack of coördinated beauty. It also explains the heavy cost of it all,

for the standard of living in America affects the rate of wages paid in municipal as well as in private work.

But with all the faults of our city administrations the services rendered are secured at a relatively small cost. The per capita burden of Boston's government, probably the heaviest in the world, is but $34.39. The total expenditures of New York for all purposes are but $31.62, while the average of Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo, and San Francisco is but $15.54 per capita. When we consider that our schools, libraries, police, fire, and health protection, the care and lighting of our streets, and all the manifold services which the city renders, do not equal the cost of a suit of clothes, or even the cost to the individual of transit on the streets, it is apparent that the real cost of the city is inconsiderable and its services of incalculable value.[1]

Some years ago Mr. Joseph Chamberlain made a statement of the comparative expenditures of Boston and Birmingham, England. His conclusion was that the American people "pay for less efficient service in their large cities nearly five times as much as is paid in the case of a well-man-

[1] From the reports of the Department of Labor, Bulletin of September, 1901, we are offered some data on this subject. From the tables of per capita expenditure the following statement shows the disbursements of eight cities, the first four being those whose

aged English municipality." This is probably true in so far as Boston is concerned. In all probability the total as well as the per capita cost is greater in America than in England. But the functions performed and the conditions prevailing render any exact comparison difficult. Moreover, the difference in expenditure of two American cities is often as marked as is the divergence between England and America.

A study of the activities of the American city seems to demonstrate that in those departments where the franchise corporations have not entered, a relatively higher order of talent and service has been secured. In the administration of the parks, libraries, and schools, the departments of fire, accounting, etc., corruption has been largely eliminated, and the public has shown a willingness to enter the service of the city.

On the other hand, graft is most prevalent where franchise interests are active. It makes its appearance in the city councils and among ex-

administration is not of the best; the last four being cities which are well governed.

	Police Dept., including courts, jails, workhouse, reformatory, etc.	Fire Dept.	School	Lighting	Streets	Other	Total
Philadelphia	$2.65	$ .78	$2.67	$ .90	$ .82	$ 7.82	$15 64
St. Louis	2.98	1.25	2.62	.90	1.07	6.81	15.63
Cincinnati	2.18	1.51	3.22	1.04	.93	9.74	18.62
Pittsburg	1.60	1.56	2.67	.95	1.34	11.74	19.86
Chicago	2.39	.95	3.65	.25	.52	3.73	11.49
Boston	5.28	2.15	5.31	1.30	3.43	16.92	34.39
Cleveland	1.28	1.19	2.87	.63	.39	5.78	12.14
Detroit	1.91	1.71	2.81		1.90	3.40	11.73

ecutive officials charged with the regulation of these industries. Most councils are incompetent. Disclosures have been made in city after city showing them to be corrupt. By most people the trouble is laid at the door of democracy. It is attributed to the inability of a free city to manage the intricate and difficult matters involved in muncipal administration.

To what extent this explanation is true, it will be the purpose of the succeeding chapters to consider.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOURCE OF CORRUPTION

As we have seen, the American city is not all bad. Here and there a community has risen against the party, the boss, and the machine, and overthrown them. Such exhibits of municipal vitality tend to qualify the disheartening portrayals with which we are familiar. Moreover, whole departments of city life are administered on a relatively high plane of efficiency. In some cities the spoils system has been eliminated. Here and there sound business methods have come in, while reform movements have aroused the public to independent action in local elections. The schools, libraries, parks, and many other departments are responding to this change. Everywhere are many evidences of a higher civic sense, a more enlightened interest, a belief in the city and the possibilities of city life.

There yet remain many cities not touched by reform. Cincinnati, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and many others have failed to respond to the quickening uplift of other communities. At the same time, many departments of the city are in a state of arrested development. Councilmanic bodies

are almost uniformly bad. The police, health, and street departments are backward or indifferently well administered. Corruption breaks out in city after city, and indictments, disclosures, and reform movements only serve to localize the disease.

From the mass of testimony now available, some explanation of the cause of the evils should be obtainable. We should be able to discover some influence that would account for the relative efficiency of some cities and the deplorable condition of others. We should be able to explain why some departments are honestly conducted while others are characterized by corruption.

The people are not dishonest. At most they are indifferent. The spoils system will not account for all the evil, for civil service reform has become an accomplished fact in New York, Boston, and Chicago. Nor can the blame be laid upon the ignorant foreign voter, for Philadelphia is the most American of our cities—and the worst. There is some influence back of all these, some influence that is universal, and at the same time powerful enough to engage the rich and the influential, the press and the party, the boss and the machine.

An examination of the conditions in city after city discloses one sleepless influence that is common to them all. Underneath the surface phe-

nomena the activity of privilege appears, the privileges of the street railways, the gas, the water, the telephone, and electric-lighting companies. The connection of these industries with politics explains most of the corruption; it explains the power of the boss and the machine; it suggests the explanation of the indifference of the "best" citizen and his hostility to democratic reform. Moreover, it throws much light on the excellence of some departments of city life and the inefficiency of others, for the interest of the franchise corporations is centred in the council, in the executive departments, and in the tax-assessors. It does not extend to the schools, libraries, parks, and fire departments, departments which are free from the worst forms of corruption. But the city council awards franchises. It fixes the terms and the regulations under which the franchise corporations may use the streets. The executive enjoys the veto power. He controls permits, and exercises an influence upon the council and public opinion. The assessor determines the appraisal of property as well as the taxes to be paid. All these powers are of great importance, and their control of great value. The privilege of tax evasion may amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. In the larger cities it is measured by millions. In 1903 the special franchises of the public service

corporations in Greater New York were appraised at $235,184,325. This valuation is confessedly inadequate, and yet even it escaped taxation prior to the passage of the Ford Franchise Law, assessing the franchise as property.

The franchises themselves are even more valuable than the tax evasions. There is scarcely a city in America of over twenty-five thousand inhabitants in which their value does not exceed the amount of the municipal debt. Careful investigations have been made into this subject in a number of cities. The value in the market of the securities of the surface-railway, gas, and electric-lighting corporations in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx has been estimated at $400,000,000. The value of the physical property, exclusive of the franchise, is probably well within $125,000,000.[1] Prior to the consolidation of the City of New York in 1898, the public debt, less the sinking fund, was but $141,916,520.

The cost of replacing the Third Avenue Metropolitan Railway system in New York has been estimated as within sixty million dollars, while the stocks and bonds issued on the property aggregate $165,000,000. In 1902 these securities possessed a market value of $221,000,000. The value of the franchise was therefore $161,000,000, or

[1] *Municipal Affairs*, published by the Reform Club, New York; Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 886.

more than two and one-half times the amount of money actually in the system,[1] and twenty million dollars more than the city's net debt in 1898.

The franchises enjoyed by a single corporation exceeded the total indebtedness of the most heavily bonded city in the world. This indebtedness represents parks, water works, aqueducts, fire and police departments, streets, sewers, docks, bridges, lands, hospitals, correctional institutions, colleges, schools, public buildings, armories, courthouses, museums, and all of the many investments which the city has made. But this was but one of the many franchise corporations of the city. It did not include other street-railway systems, the gas companies, the electric-light and telephone companies, the value of whose franchises is hundreds of millions of dollars more. The total value of the franchises in Greater New York has been estimated at $450,000,000. They are assessed for taxation at more than half this sum. At the present time, the total indebtedness of the city, exclusive of the sinking fund, is less than $400,000,000. The franchises of the metropolis, in excess of the physical value of the property, exceed the amount of the city's net debt. They amount to more than one hundred dollars for every man, woman, and child within the city, and their quotation in the market

[1] *Municipal Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 68.

represents wealth in excess of the total appraisal for purposes of taxation of any city in America outside of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago. For these grants, the city receives no return. They were obtained to some extent through the ignorance of public officials, but mainly through bribery, corruption, and a political alliance with the Democratic Party in the city and the Republican Party in the state.

This is but part of the price that the city is paying to privilege. It is the price that all our cities are paying to those who have requited this gift by overturning our institutions. It is a price which many insist we should continue to pay, because of the alleged greater efficiency of private enterprise, and the fear that democracy is not equal to the additional burdens involved in the assumption of new obligations.

It was a franchise of imperial proportions to the United Gas Improvement Company that finally aroused the City of Philadelphia to resume the elemental means of government through petition, protest, and the vigilance committee. But while public indignation exhausted itself on the Board of Aldermen, the real offenders were higher up. For it was the big business men of the city that awakened the cupidity of city officials and inspired the theft of the city's most valuable asset from those who were its trustees.

In 1900, the Cleveland City Railroad was endeavoring to secure an extension of its franchises from the City Council, and the Chamber of Commerce secured the appointment of an expert committee to examine into the value of its property. The committee estimated the cost of replacing the system at $3,869,327. This was less than half the value of the stock and bonds of the company then outstanding. And this did not include the franchises of another street railway, of two gas companies, one telephone company, and one electric-lighting company, the divergence between whose investment and capitalization was probably many times more than that of the railway system. In 1904 the total bonded debt of the city of Cleveland, exclusive of money in the sinking fund, but including the indebtedness of the water works, was but $18,877,000. The present market value of the franchises of the street railways of the city alone is probably about the same.

In the city of Toledo, Ohio, several railway systems have been consolidated through the issue of new stock. By this process $11,000,000 in bonds and $12,000,000 of stock have been placed upon the market. These issues have been marketed in the face of the fact that the franchises begin to expire in 1910, and that the plant could probably be duplicated for not to exceed $5,000,000.

Similar investigations have been made in the

city of Chicago. The value of the physical property of the seven traction companies in that city has been appraised at $44,922,011; while the market value of the securities issued by the corporations amounts to $120,235,539.[1] The public debt of the city in 1900 was $32,989,819, or $42,323,709 less than the value of the franchises of the traction interests alone.

The Cincinnati Street Railway Company and the Cincinnati Traction Company have issued securities on a fifty-year franchise in excess of $20,000,000, whereas the real investment made does not exceed one-half of this sum.

In Baltimore all the street railways and the electric-lighting company have been consolidated through the issue of over $65,000,000 in securities; whereas the public indebtedness of the city in 1900 was but $31,772,975. Such instances as these might be indefinitely extended, for these exhibits are by no means exceptional. In Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and other Eastern cities where franchises are perpetual, for 999 or 99 years, the amount of securities issued has been determined by the will of the promoters; but however excessive the capitalization may have been, in almost every instance the growth of the city, the increased demand for the services offered, and the diminished cost of production have brought the

[1] *Municipal Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 448.

value of the stock up to par, and in many instances to far above par.

Here is a peculiar form of wealth. It scarcely existed fifty years ago. It is largely the result of the Dartmouth College Case, which decided that grants of this nature were contracts and could not be impaired by the state or the city. Reasonable legislation would have created a license, revocable at the will of the granting authority, but subject to compensation by the community for the actual investment made by the company. Such is the title enjoyed by other wealth; it is always subject to use by the public at its value in the market, which is its cost of replacement.

The value of these privileges or franchises runs into fabulous figures. Their existence is not dependent upon labor cost, but arises from a grant, a contract, a franchise from the community. In New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and many other cities these anomalous values amount to tens of millions of dollars; while in hundreds of smaller cities their value amounts to hundreds of thousands. In every city of more than twenty-five thousand population they probably exceed in value the amount of the municipal debt.

It is these glittering prizes that lure men from the paths of ordinary industry, as do the gold fields of Alaska, South Africa, and the West. Here a lucky strike is like a bonanza mine. Year

by year it increases in value by the growth in population. It is the most valuable possession in the hands of the people, a possession fairly regal in its proportions, and, as we shall see, endowed with power for the greatest evil or the greatest good, according to the policy adopted by the community. Its capitalized value would adorn the city with schoolhouses, parks, and playgrounds; it would pave streets, build sewers, and beautify the city with works of art. On the other hand, were the earnings retained by the city they would reduce the taxes, or if the price of the service were reduced to cost, it would relieve the most onerous of the burdens which urban life entails.

It is the contest for the possession of these privileges that breeds corruption and lures the unfit into politics. In this process, the boss has become the representative of the interests which have reduced our politics to a System of government. They have syndicated the party, and converted the blind submission of the people to party regularity into a marketable asset, which is bought and sold by campaign contributions for private ends.

All this is possible by reason of the fact that the privilege of supplying transportation, gas, water, lighting, and telephone service is a natural monopoly. Competition may be secured for a time, but combination inevitably follows. It has become an

axiom of the business world that wherever combination is possible, competition is improbable. This has been demonstrated in hundreds of instances, and to-day there is scarcely a city in the United States where real competition in such service exists. Moreover, the charges of such companies are determined by the rule of monopoly, which is to collect what the traffic will bear. This rule must be qualified in so far as charges have been fixed by contract with the city. But most of these contracts were made many years ago, when these services were in their infancy and the cost of production was much higher than it is at present. Since the granting of these franchises watered securities have been added until it is impossible for the companies to lower rates, while the cities and states have been restrained in their efforts through the interference of the courts or the betrayal of the party to private influences. It is monopoly which gives these services their value. Competition cannot reach them, while their market is daily growing by the increase of population.

It is because these industries are monopolies, supplying a service of universal use, that securities may be issued, and sold, far in excess of the actual investment. This excess runs into the tens of millions of dollars, and it is this that represents the value of the franchise which is obtainable from the city. It is privileges such as these

that invite corruption, and for their preservation perpetuate it. When millions may be made by the stroke of the pen, men will appear willing to adopt such measures as may be necessary to accomplish it, even though the means employed involve the crime of bribery, which Governor Folk of Missouri has termed "treason." In no other way can wealth be obtained so easily. In fact, it is only through privileges of some sort that wealth can be secured at all without human labor. And it is to secure and retain such privileges, to prevent their regulation, the reduction of charges, just taxation, and the like, that the boss, the machine, and the System have become the virtual government of city and state all over the Union.

In addition to all this, the difficulties of financing such properties have been reduced to a minimum. Money can be borrowed upon a franchise just as upon real estate. As a matter of fact, a grant of this kind is real estate. It is appurtenant to the land. Bankers will advance money upon a franchise when a manufacturing business would not command it, for in any growing city the earnings of such a property may be relied upon to increase at from five to ten per cent. a year. And the amount of securities which may be issued is determined not by the investment made, but by the earning capacity of the plant, as well as the speculative increase of the future.

In the confusion of causes, we have sought to avoid corruption by keeping our cities out of these businesses. In so doing we have invited the corruption we sought to escape, while business men have accepted the invitation, and remained to govern the city as well. Such a result is both natural and inevitable. We may safeguard our communities by reform associations, by the adoption of improved charters, by the abolition of the spoils system and the like; we may develop civic morality to a high level, we still have the "twentieth man," the man who is not bound by our organizations, the man who will not accept the new standards of conduct, but who will secure control of the party, dictate its nominations, bribe a city council, and, if necessary, the state legislature as well, in order to secure a franchise.

Does this seem an overdrawn picture—too narrow an explanation of the evil of city administration? Then read the tale of municipal corruption portrayed by J. Lincoln Steffens in *The Shame of the Cities.* It is true, Mr. Steffens does not limit the indictment to the privileged corporations. He lays the offense at the door of "business." But it is business, plus franchises and privileges, that has overturned our cities and brought shame to their citizens. For wealth without privilege does not organize to control parties, primaries, or conventions. The retail

dealer, wholesale dealer, or manufacturer is not found in the council chamber. His offence is one of indifference. He probably cannot name the alderman from his ward. To him politics is a nuisance. He wants nothing from the city, for his business requires no favors. It depends upon his own energy, thrift, and enterprise. Chicago, "Half Free and Fighting On," as Mr. Steffens says, is not fighting business. Her Municipal Voters' League was not called into being as a vigilance committee to protect the city from ordinary wealth. During the past ten years, Chicago has been like a beleaguered camp, not for protection from without, but for protection from some of her own citizens. The contest within the city has been like that of the Guelphs and Ghibellines of Florence and the mediæval Italian cities. And to-day in Chicago, there is a powerful class who say: "Oh, damn reform; it hurts our business." It is the $75,000,000 of franchises that is hurt by reform. "Anarchy," privilege calls it, or "socialism." But again, it was not business that was hurt, it was graft. It was graft born of railway and gas franchises that turned Chicago over to the "gray wolves" of the Council. It was such graft that made the office of alderman worth fifty thousand dollars a year.

In 1896, the Council granted away six franchises of great value, despite the protests of the public.

Some of these grants were made to a dummy who represented the Council combine. Some were used as " strikes " on the existing companies. The city got nothing from any of them. Ultimately, the Council was syndicated. The political machinery of the city was reduced to a System. But the System did not stop there. It could not, even if it would. It ran into the state. It organized both the Republican and the Democratic parties. It nominated and elected not only the members of the Council, the mayor, and the tax assessors, it entered state politics as well.

" In 1886 and 1887," says a report on the political condition of Chicago presented to the National Municipal League, " Mr. Yerkes, for himself and his associates, chief of whom were Messrs. Elkins and Widener, of Philadelphia, secured control of a majority of the stock of the street-railway companies operating in the north and west divisions of the city. Then began the most remarkable era of financing and of political manipulation that Chicago has ever known. Securities have been piled on top of securities in the most confusing manner. Politically, Mr. Yerkes became the most powerful factor in the community. He dominated conventions and made and unmade councils and mayors, all, of course, under cover as much as possible. During his later days he had nearly as much to say in naming Governors and in control-

ling the action of State Legislatures. But the very audacity of the man's plans finally proved his undoing, by furnishing to the people the shock necessary to stimulate them to effective action. Mr. Yerkes wanted more valuable grants than it was possible for the Council under law to vote him. He went to the Legislature of 1895 with bills, that were passed without much difficulty, but their final success was blocked by the veto of Governor Altgeld. Angered at this defeat of his project, Mr. Yerkes decided to name the next Governor of the state himself, and thus be sure of having there a man who would carry out his wishes, and in this he succeeded. But, in the meantime, the Legislature had become somewhat more sensitive to popular criticism, and in the face of public protest did not care to enact the bolder measures asked for by Mr. Yerkes, known as the Humphrey bills. The Legislature of 1897 did, however, pass, and the Governor approved, the Allen law, which made the position of the companies much stronger in many ways, and among other things authorized councils to make grants running for fifty-year periods." [1]

It was such business as this that was hurt by reform in Chicago. It was not that of the merchant or the manufacturer. It was the business

[1] "The Street Railway Situation in Chicago," by George C. Sikes, in *Report of Proceedings of Boston Conference for Good City Government*, p. 179.

of dealing in a betrayal of the city's interests. It was the business of securing franchises from councils, legislatures, and governors, worth millions, that was in jeopardy. It was this that was injured, not business.

And any one familiar with city politics knows that the class so hurt by reform is not an insignificant one, limited to those seeking the franchises alone. It includes the thousands of stockholders; the bankers and brokers who advance money upon and handle the securities; the lawyers who represent, and the press that is controlled by them. Such business interests ramify into clubs and churches. They involve the best classes of the community; a class that is organized, that understands itself, and is perfectly alive to its own interests. It penetrates into social, business, and professional intercourse. And Chicago has been fighting,—now down, now up again,—not for some great public improvement, not for the upbuilding of the city and the rendering of it a more comfortable and beautiful place in which to live. Chicago has been like a nation engaged in civil war. All matters of domestic and local concern had to be abandoned in the face of a hostile enemy. Thus for the past ten years all the unfettered talent of that great metropolis of the West has been fighting for the city's protection. It has spent time, energy, and money sadly needed for

positive good in the preservation of the city's interests. This contest has been not to prevent the honest barter of the city's streets, but to prevent these rights, whose value runs into the tens of millions of dollars, from being stolen from the community by modern business brigands.

Across the State of Illinois lies St. Louis. This city has been bound, gagged, and reduced to submission for so many years that the people hardly comprehend free government. They scarce remember the meaning of democracy. They are like castaways on a Pacific isle, who forget their mother tongue from disuse. So St. Louis had ceased to expect, ceased almost to believe in public honesty. And when Joseph W. Folk, as Circuit Attorney, began his indictments, the people stood dazed, unheeding, and without understanding the language which he used. The boodlers and the business men asked one another: "What does he want; what is his price?" They treated the city as a mastiff might his kennel. It was their domain, they had owned it for so long. So felt the English Stuarts towards Hampden. So the French Bourbons toward the Third Estate. Folk was an anachronism in Missouri. He is so still to a large portion of St. Louis. He excites the curiosity of the System as well as its anger and chagrin.

Here, as in Chicago, the fight has not been

against business wealth, against property as such. The fight that has taken the lid off the city has shown that it was the franchises for street railways, contracts for electric lighting and the like that led to the syndicating of Boss Butler, the millionaire blacksmith. Through him the System controlled the election machinery, reduced the police to a Hessian brigade, and organized the entire city administration for private graft. It was to secure a street railway franchise that $125,000 was deposited in one of the trust companies of the city under an agreement that it was to be delivered to the Council combine when a franchise had been granted. It was another street-railway franchise, secured at a cost to the promoter of $250,000 in bribes, that was afterwards sold to a New York syndicate for $1,250,000. *In neither of these instances did the city receive anything.* It was franchise legislation that led the street railways to the state capital, where they organized the Legislature and paid $250,000 to the representatives of the people, for privileges that the railways did not possess, and could not secure from the city. It was for a lighting contract with the city of St. Louis that $47,500 was distributed by Boss Butler to the members of the Council combine, under the very eyes of indignant citizens, who sat in the Council gallery, ignorant of what was going on.

Who were the beneficiaries of these privileges; who have since defended Butler and the indicted public officials? It was the rich and influential citizens of St. Louis. It was they whom Butler represented. It was they who had organized the Democratic party, and through Butler dictated its nominations even for the Bench, and controlled the administration of justice for the protection of their friends and representatives. It was these men who opposed Folk. It was these men who trampled under foot the election laws, filled the booths with repeaters, and openly counted out the properly elected representatives of the people who were hostile to their designs.

In Cincinnati a former saloon keeper has become a millionaire banker. He gained this eminence, not through those traditional virtues that are inculcated in youth; not even through the gross levying of blackmail upon saloons, gambling houses, and dives. It came to him not through the barter and sale of public office. All these he used. To-day, Boss Cox rules the servile city of Cincinnati as a mediæval baron did his serfs. He rose to this eminence by binding together and to himself the rich and powerful members of the community, for whom he secured and protects the franchises of the street-railway, gas, and electric-lighting companies. They, in turn, became his friends and protectors, and through him, and for

him, controlled the press and organized public opinion. Through his control of the local political machine, Boss Cox is able to dominate his party in the city as well as in the state; to nominate at will governors as well as members of the legislature, exactly as did Yerkes in Chicago and Butler in St. Louis. By means of this control, he is able to exempt millions of property from its proper burdens of taxation; he has aided in fastening upon the people of his city a fifty-year franchise; he has overthrown the school system of the commonwealth as well as the form of government of the cities; he has finally acquired rights of immense value in the canals of the state.

By means of this powerful combination, the city of Cincinnati has been terrorized into submission. Men speak in whispers of their disgrace, but none rise to overthrow it. Organized resistance has been destroyed, while the rich and privileged classes, the beneficiaries of the System, speak with approval of the government which Boss Cox "gives them."

At the other end of the state, in the city of Cleveland, the issues are the same, but the outcome different. Here for ten years the municipal contest has centred about street-railway, gas, and electric-lighting franchises. Recurring elections, both state and local, have turned on these issues. The Republican party has become as a pack of

cards played by unseen hands in this great game. It has been used to secure and protect franchises of the local street-railway corporations, and relieve their property from taxation.

In former years these companies boldly entered politics the better to advance their interests. Their employees were the accredited bosses of the party machine. For years the City Council was dominated by these influences. Its personnel was made up prior to the primaries through a control of the party. After election, its committees were designated, its officers selected, and its policy controlled by the representatives of the corporations who made the Council Chamber the scene of their operations. Time and again the public has been organized like a *posse comitatus* for protection against the disposition of the city's streets without provision for the city's protection. Protests have been issued by the Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal Association. Immense campaign funds have been raised by the companies, and used without discrimination, now for the election of a Republican administration, now for the election of a Democratic one. For the business man in politics cares not at all for party. His allegiance is one of interest, not of principle.

Such were the conditions up to a short time ago. The present officials of the street-railway company

have discountenanced such practices. In 1901 Tom L. Johnson was elected Mayor on the platform of lower fares, municipal ownership, and equitable taxation. Competing capital offered to construct and operate street-railway lines on a three-cent fare basis. A franchise was granted for the use of the streets and the work of construction commenced. Injunction after injunction suit was filed, preventing the city from using its open highways for this purpose. These resources failing, the charter of the city was overthrown by the courts for the purpose of tying the hands of a hostile administration.

Similar proceedings were begun in Toledo, where Samuel M. Jones had been elected Mayor on an Independent ticket, and had frustrated the railways in an attempted franchise. All of the municipal charters of the state were equally invalid; but their legality was only questioned in those cities where the public had awakened, and having overthrown the boss, declared themselves independent of his dictation. By the decision of the Supreme Court, the charter of the city of Cleveland was declared unconstitutional. With it, the charter of every other city in the state fell.

The city of Cleveland had a nearly model charter. It had been drafted by the Chamber of Commerce, and for ten years its constitutionality had been unquestioned. On the convening of a special

session of the Legislature to enact a new municipal code for the cities of the state, the reform organizations presented what was known as the Cleveland plan of centralized responsibility. This plan bore the endorsement of the State Bar Association. It was approved by the National Municipal League. But this plan gave the Mayor too great powers and responsibilities. It enabled the people to concentrate their fight on one man. In the cities of Cleveland, Columbus, and Toledo, strong men, hostile to the designs of the privileged interests, had been chosen as Mayors. Instead of such a charter, the Legislature, at the command of Boss Cox, adopted a reactionary code, which distributed executive responsibility among the Mayor, and five or seven other officials, all elected by the people. Administrative power was divided, as was responsibility. Through this distribution, it was thought the ability of the people to protect themselves would be destroyed. By this measure, the well-being of nearly two million people, resident in the cities, was sacrificed to the private designs of privileged interests; municipal reform was set back a decade, and unnecessary pecuniary burdens were imposed upon the people. It is doubtful if organized greed has ever gone further than this in the promotion of its privileges.

For years, a similar contest has been carried on

in Toledo. The street-railway franchises of the city are about to expire, and the companies are seeking their renewal. Local political contests have turned upon this issue and on more than one occasion the public turned out as a "Petition in Boots," and went to the Council Chamber determined to prevent by force, if necessary, the granting of a twenty-five-year franchise. Thus far they have been successful.

In Pennsylvania, the situation is even worse. In Pittsburg the traction and public service corporations were owned or controlled by Magee and Flynn, the city's joint bosses. They formed an alliance with Senator Quay. Through the City Council, which they controlled, and the State Legislature, which was dominated by Senator Quay, they awarded to themselves "perpetual," "999," and "99" year franchises for the use of the city's streets. Magee and Flynn controlled both parties, and used the employees of their many corporations as part of the city machine. These great interests, with the railroads entering the city, formed the centre about which was grouped a general brokerage business in contracts, saloon and vice privilege, as well as all sorts of municipal jobbery, probably unsurpassed in the history of America.[1] In Philadelphia, the story is the same. "Corrupt and contented," this city has been pa-

[1] See *The Shame of the Cities*, by Lincoln Steffens.

duced to a state of subjection, through the System, which involves the railways, the traction and gas companies, and other privileges. From these as a base, corruption has gradually grown until it became perfected to all purposes.

Here, as in Ohio, the local and state machines have been merged into a System of government, which makes use of the overwhelming Republican majority, to trade in all kinds of franchises, grants, and immunities. And here the System has completely overthrown democratic government in state, city, county, and township. Legal forms and procedure still remain, but so overwhelming is the Republican majority, and so intimately is its control related to that of privileged wealth, that a return of the state to simple democratic ideals and purposes seems well-nigh impossible.

Everywhere the cause is the same. It is privilege, not wealth; franchises, not business; the few, not the many, that have overthrown our cities within the past few years. There is scarcely a large city of the country in which the public service corporations do not control or constantly seek to control the government. In many instances the Council is theirs, prior even to election. Through an alliance with the party, the corporations dictate aldermanic nominations. They supply candidates with funds, and place the machin-

ery of the party at their disposal. Once elected, the alderman is controlled by friendship, favor, bribery, or the party caucus. The latter is used on the honest official, who would hotly resent direct bribery. In fact, as employed in city, state, and national affairs, the caucus is used quite as often to compel obedience to some corrupt proposition as for any other purpose. If this proves ineffectual, the official is ostracized from the party councils, is charged with a betrayal of party principles, and is treated as a pariah. In this way he is excluded from nomination on the party ticket.

Through such powerful influences the official comes to look upon the electors who place him in office as a sort of second constituency. The real constituency, the constituency to which he must account, is the boss who controls the caucus, disburses funds, and determines the party's policy. The disapproval of the boss is more feared than that of the community. For the average community is not yet sufficiently organized to be able to protect itself. An inspection of the treasurer's books of a campaign committee will show that almost all the money raised is supplied by these interests. The amount of their subscriptions, which in many instances are indiscriminately made to both parties, depends upon the exigencies of the occasion. Between elections, the party

committee is made up. It is usually a Hessian brigade, interested only in party spoils.

On a larger scale, party machinery is used for similar purposes in the state. Party control is usually concentrated in one, or at most, in two hands. This control is gradually being centred in the United States Senate. It is no longer necessary to see the organization, but only the party boss. And through this "fence," men are nominated for the Bench and for the higher state offices with a knowledge approaching certainty as to what they will do under a given set of circumstances. Many, possibly most of them, are free from corruption through direct bribery or dishonesty, but through previous contact, pecuniary or political obligations, their attitude can be forecast with precision.

It is true, franchises and tax evasions do not explain all of the corruption of our cities. But it explains the organized, systematized corruption. The rest is unorganized, miscellaneous, occasional. Franchise interests form the keystone of the arch that supports the petty grafting. And were they removed, the System that has grown up about these interests would crumble before public opinion, because there is no other interest powerful enough to support it. The franchise interests are to the misgovernment of our cities what the regular army is to warfare. All other graft is

guerilla-like in its methods, as well as its effectiveness. With a profit in sight of from $75,000,000 to $150,000,000 from a fifty-year grant in the Chicago streets, men will appear who are willing to spend such sums as may be necessary to control the machinery of the State of Illinois. In the City of New York, the opportunity to secure franchises, whose value runs into the hundreds of millions, and whose acquisition depends upon a control of the party, will warrant the expenditure of such time and money as the control of the party demands.

Further than this, there are no other interests in the community so dependent upon the public as are these. Other business enjoys no privileges. The vital principle of the franchise corporation is its grant. It exists through, its great value depends upon, its corrupting influences spring from this fact. And no other business is so readily organized to control the government. It possesses great wealth; it is schooled in political methods by daily contact with administrative agencies.

It is from these sources that the campaign contributions of state and city come. These contributions are neither solicited nor made with any pretence of patriotism. They are the price of protection from disturbance, or an earnest for some new privilege. And by common understanding the chairman of the city, state, or national

committee is authorized to speak for the party in the barter for place or sale of legislation.

Such are the conditions prevailing in nearly every large city in the land. By insidiously undermining the party organization; by gradually gathering together an army of political hirelings maintained by their own campaign contributions; by the election of known men to positions of trust; by controlling platform declarations, party committees, and patronage; by all these means, backed by a class interest which involves a large portion of the community, a few great corporate interests have converted local government into a private agency responding to their will. Such a System as this is free from the noisome scandal that characterized earlier corruption. By virtue of this fact, its dangerous character is increased rather than diminished. There is less menace to the nation from miscellaneous corruption than there is from an organized System which wears the trappings of democracy, but which is in reality a well-organized and thoroughly false make-believe of popular government. For a despotism, monarchy, or republic, is not a matter of name. It is a matter of control. Liberty is not a thing of bills of rights, constitutions, or forms; it is a matter of practice.

How the forms of liberty and the agencies of free government have been taken over, how they

have been adapted to private ends, how they are now identified with the great privileged industries of nation, state, and city, it will be the purpose of the following chapter to show.

CHAPTER VII

THE BOSS, THE PARTY, AND THE SYSTEM

Gradually the interests dependent upon grants, franchises, and privileges have enveloped the government, and developed a System that is highly perfected for business uses. Heretofore, corruption has been haphazard, unorganized, irregular, and occasional. It dealt with the individual official at some hazard, and with no assurance of success. Within recent years, however, all this has undergone a change—a change too subtle to be easily discerned, but far more insidious and infinitely more dangerous than the conditions which preceded it, and with which we are familiar. Rome did not appreciate that her liberties had vanished, so long as the senatorial oligarchy observed the cherished forms of the Republic. The Italian despots of a later age were sedulously faithful to the prejudices of democracy and the constitutions of the city republics which they governed. England does not resent the dominion of the landed aristocracy, so long as manhood suffrage, the right of petition, trial by jury, and Magna Charta are secure. And history has been slow in discerning that slavery had woven itself

into the warp and woof of the government, until it became a System of government as well as an organized privilege prior to the Civil War.

A similar condition has been developed within the past decade in the Northern States of the Union. It has possessed itself of the patronage of city, county, and state. It has enveloped the party and created the machine. Through the machine it controls primaries and conventions; councils and legislatures; mayors and governors. It has even laid its hands upon the courts. This has not been done in an openly corrupt way so much as through the nomination of men of weak or controllable character; men whose predilection, prejudice, or bias is known; men who can be relied upon to stand by the party, to acknowledge the courtesy of the organization, to protect vested wrongs under the fiction of vested rights. All this has been possible, not because the public is indifferent, but because the means employed are so subtle they cannot be easily discerned. There is no crime involved in a campaign contribution, no offence in the control of a party. It is difficult to appreciate that the party is corrupt, for the party is but the organized voice of the people. We cannot believe that the party is no longer a popular organization, when the people are taken into its confidence at every recurring election.

Despite this belief, the party has ceased to rep-

resent the mass of the people who compose it. This appeared in Missouri, where the regular Democracy had become a systematized fence for dealing in franchises and privileges for steam railroads, for the street railways, for the baking-powder and school-book trusts. In Wisconsin, on the other hand, the stalwart Republican organization, which relentlessly assailed Governor La Follette, was in alliance with the railroads, seeking to evade taxation and regulation. During the life of Governor Pingree, the Republican party in Michigan was an organized force of resistance against the efforts of the people to acquire the street railways in Detroit, as well as adequately to tax the railways and mine-owners in the state. In Ohio, the Republican party is little more than a private organization under the control of men whose political influence has been acquired through the franchise corporations in the city and the railways in the state. Through these means they have elevated themselves to office, and then used the powers acquired to secure franchises of great value, to prevent competition, and to evade their proper burdens of taxation. In Pennsylvania the same is true, only there the System involves not only the interests above enumerated, but the protected industries and the mine-owners as well. In New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia the exhibit is the same. In one state the

Republican party forms the structure of the System; in another the Democratic party serves its purpose. In some states, both parties are involved, for the System is indifferent to the means it employs. It is non-partisan in its dealings, but always regular in its methods. All this has been possible because we have made a fetich of party and abandoned our principles to the leaders, to be dealt in as they wished.

For democracy works through the party organization. We have recognized the party by law, but neglected to safeguard its workings. Our votes, in consequence, have become a marketable asset, to be dealt in by men who have organized the party machinery and trade in its power for evil. But the government can rise no higher than the party, for the party is the source of the government. And the party can rise no higher than the ideals of those who control it. And they are those who have discovered its powers to be an Aladdin's lamp in the hands of men who but know the magical symbols.

All this marks a revolution in our government. It began with the years of party regularity subsequent to the Civil War, when indifference on the one hand and national issues on the other rendered dominion of the city easy. During these years the city boss came into power, the result of our indolence. He cemented his control through

the spoils system and an alliance with vice and the saloon. Promiscuous graft strengthened him, while the injection of national policies into local affairs prevented his overthrow. He was and is the natural product of democracy working through the party. But while democracy, unfamiliar with the problems of city government, let itself be drugged by the poison of party regularity, it is no longer primarily responsible for the boss and the machine. For in recent years corruption has been organized into a System of government, which now prevails alongside of the paper one which it controls. And this System is coextensive with the nation; it controls states and territories and ramifies down to city, county, and township. The constituent elements of the System are the party, the boss, the spoils system, campaign contributions, and direct bribery. These are its agencies. Through these means nominations are dictated, conventions controlled, and platforms formulated. In these matters, the boss is the accredited agent, the party and the caucus are the machinery by which his decrees are enforced.

The boss came in through political apathy. He has grown powerful through privilege. He is the natural and logical product of privilege, and he everywhere perpetuates his power through an alliance with it. And the privileges that he now represents are the great natural monopolies which

make use of our streets, the companies which supply transportation, gas, water, electric light, and telephone services. With these are allied the railways, express, telegraph, mining, and tariff-born industries, as well as other interests seeking privileges in the state at large.

Through this development the boss has acquired a business as well as a political significance. He enjoys a dual rôle, in which he not only controls the party; he traffics in legislation as well. The city boss has become the state boss, and the city machine runs into the state machine. And through the perfection of the organization the state boss is making his way into the United States Senate.

Heretofore the city has been governed from the state capital. It is coming to be ruled from the Senate at Washington, from which body a dual oligarchy of private and political interests are gradually extending their dominion over nation, state, and city.

In this new rôle the boss has become a modern feudal baron, who does homage to his superior, levies tribute on society, and distributes favors with a free hand to his retainers as did his prototype of old. He is the link which unites the criminal rich with the criminal poor. For the former he obtains millions in grants, franchises, privileges, and immunity from the burdens of taxation.

To the latter, in payment for election services, he dispenses small gratuities in the form of protection from the police, in jobs, in staying the hand of justice, and in caring for the weak, sick, and helpless in time of need. He organizes the party and devotes himself to its success. He controls the primaries; oversees legislation, and is a sort of " fence " for those who would make use of government for private ends. Party regularity has become a merchantable asset, which he uses for his own political advancement and the promotion of those interests whose agent he is.

It is through such means as these that the great corporations which occupy our streets have become dominant in city affairs. Their major-domo is the boss, who has seized the party machine, the organized agency of democracy, and through it usurped the reins of government as well. This development has created a System highly perfected for business uses. In those states of the North and East, where the city is dominant in state politics, it has reached its highest development. There is no mystery about its workings, no obscurity about its origin. It was born of privilege, just as corruption always has been, and always will be.

In some form or other, this has always been so. Privilege has ever corrupted government. In many instances it has brought about its downfall.

And it has always used an intermediary except when privilege and the government itself were united in the same persons.

In this way the System had its beginning in the city. Its extension to state and national affairs is partly traceable to one of those alliances between the reformer and the politician so common in the history of American cities. The former came to distrust democracy and the people, and rushed to the legislature for relief. Unwilling to face the burdens of self-government, he pushed the responsibility away from his door and laid it upon the legislature, confident that some indirect means would be found of securing results which he had been unable to obtain. And the legislature has ever been ready to amplify its own authority. At the suggestion of the reformer, it took from the city certain functions, and lodged them in state officials appointed by the governor. In this way many of the departments of the city of Boston passed under the control of state officials. Probably one-half of the city's activities, including the control of franchises, the administration of the civil service, the police, the parks, the sewage and water systems are now in the hands of such commissions. In New York, the interference from Albany has been constant in all departments of the city.

This policy has since become universal in other

states. It has led to the classification of cities, to the passing of special acts, to all sorts of "ripper" legislation, by means of which the party in control of the state has wrested the patronage from the party or faction in control of the city. The politician learned readily from the suggestions of the reformer. He reduced state interference to a science. He traded in local legislation, blackmailed a portion of the municipal patronage by striking legislation, introduced only to be called off, or forcibly wrested it from the chosen representatives of the people.

This interference by the state ultimately destroyed the feeling of responsibility on the part of the citizen. He came to feel that the real seat of municipal government was at the state capital, and whatever the success of reform, the fruits were sure to be seized by the state at the dictation of a dispossessed boss. A sense of helplessness has settled down on the community, which has become the football of partisan legislation and spoils politicians.

Gradually there has arisen within the city a revolt against the control of the legislature and the tyranny of these interests. In city after city the franchise question became paramount. In Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Denver, Cleveland, Toledo, and elsewhere, local campaigns have continued to turn upon this issue. Ultimately the

people resumed a partial control. They passed beyond the dominion of the boss. Privileges and franchises were threatened A growing sentiment for public ownership has recently developed. Efforts have been made to reduce rates or charges while competition or regulation is being attempted. The companies then retired to the state legislature, for the control which the legislature exercised over the city offered a means of further protection. In response to this necessity, the local boss enlarged the fields of his activity. The same motives that led to the organization of the city for private ends, led also to the control of the state organization for the same purpose.

With the growth of the city, its delegation to the party convention and the legislature increased. Through them the boss acquired a commanding influence in state affairs. He was able to dictate the assembly ticket from his district, and to exercise a controlling influence in the state convention. He became a state boss, and the cruse of oil which had proven so inexhaustible in local campaigns became serviceable in state affairs as well. In the legislature the city representatives, thoroughly organized, well-directed, and animated by a purpose which was intelligent if not honest, were able to control legislation. By jockeying manœuvres and log-rolling tactics, they dictated local measures, or exchanged their support

with country members, ignorant, indifferent, if not prejudiced against the larger cities. By such means as these the position of the boss is maintained through an alliance with the corporations which supply him with funds and lend him their moral support.

In many states the boss and the owner of municipal franchises have become identified in the same person. His private interests and his political ambitions have merged. Having organized the city and the state for private ends, he has used this organization for political advancement. Having secured a legislature in aid of privilege, he now uses this control for his own elevation to the United States Senate. By such processes as these, the city boss became the state boss. From him new privileges were to be obtained and old ones made secure. Measures assessing property for taxation, like the Ford franchise tax in New York, had to be killed, if possible, no matter how equitable they might be.

In recent years tax evasions have become as imperial privileges. Prior to the passage of the Ford franchise tax, which added $235,184,000 to the assessments in New York City alone, these evasions amounted to three and a half millions a year. In Cleveland, where for years an effort has been made to assess corporation franchises as is done in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan,

New York, Illinois, and elsewhere, the annual profit to the companies from these evasions amounts to hundreds of thousands of dollars. In Chicago, the efforts of the School Teachers' Association added $700,000 a year to the revenues of the city, through the enforcement of a franchise-taxing measure that had been upon the statute books for a generation. It had been evaded through the complicity of the traction companies with the tax officials.

The privilege of tax exemption is as valuable as a public subsidy. It is, in fact, a subsidy from those who pay their proper taxes to those who do not. It is secured through the undervaluation of property, and the defeat of measures for the proper assessment of corporate privileges. And the same motives which call forth campaign contributions running into the millions in support of the tariff or for a ships-subsidy measure, prompt the giving of immense sums to the local party machine as a price of relief from the just and proper burdens of government.

In like manner state laws or city ordinances for the regulation of street-railway fares, charges for gas, electric lighting, telephones, and water had to be disposed of, while state commissions for the supervision of franchise companies, such as prevail in Massachusetts, had to be controlled. Competition likewise, either real or striking, had to be

prevented, while even the courts and juries became serviceable in the construction of the constitution, laws, personal-injury cases, and the like. All these things the boss could arrange through his control of the state organization, the nominating convention, and caucus.

Moreover, during the past few years, franchises have begun to expire. In some instances, especially in the Middle West, the companies negligently failed to secure "perpetual," "999," or "99" year grants, and the cities with growing independence of party control have sought to secure better service, lower charges, or more liberal compensation for the use of their streets. Through this awakening on the part of the city, the corporation has been pushed back on the state legislature for grants which it could not secure from the people themselves. And the decisions of the courts, which destroyed the independence of the city and reduced it to a mere civil division of the state, have enabled the legislature to dispose of these privileges without consulting the will of the city or its interests.

Of such a character was the Allen bill, passed by the Illinois Legislature, which authorized the City Council to award fifty-year franchises to the traction companies of Chicago; the Rogers fifty-year franchise measure passed by the Assembly of Ohio; the laws exempting the street rail-

ways of Milwaukee from the general property tax, not to speak of acts in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and elsewhere, which have entrenched the existing companies, relieved them from taxation, protected them from competition, or prevented municipal ownership or public regulation. And the courts have sustained such interference with the city's affairs by the legislature. It is by such means as these that the dependence of the city on the state has been used to dispossess the people of their streets and the control of their local affairs. It is for this reason that the state has become an essential part of the System, and the control of the party necessary to the control of legislation.

Gradually democracy has been reduced to a state of feudalism with all of its incidents. The change is not unlike that which came about in France under the Merovingian kings. They retained all the insignia of office, while the real prerogatives and power were assumed by the major-domo of the palace, who sat by the king's side, but as the representative of the great barons of the state. To-day, like the Merovingians of old, the people in many states have become *rois fainéants.* The paper form of government still persists, it is true, but the real control has passed to the party organization; from the party organization to the party boss, who is in effect but a paid broker dealing in

public rights and franchises for the modern lords of privilege, whose agent he is.

Through the perfection of the System, the state boss is graduating into the United States Senate just as the major-domo of old ultimately assumed the kingship. Here he performs the dual rôle of representing the commonwealth which elected him, and of disposing of privileges and franchises, in city, county, and state, to the interests which he represents.

This is the unseen side of American democracy. It is the underworld of politics. And it is by no means exceptional. It began with the granting of franchises. In many instances of little value when granted, the growth of the cities, the cheapened cost of producing power, gas, and electricity, has given them great value to-day. Of late this value has become apparent to the community as well as to the companies themselves. The latter entered politics. Local regulation was attempted by the cities. Improvident grants were refused. Extensions, connections, and other desires further identified the corporation with politics. It became necessary to control the tax-assessor, the auditor, then the city council, then the director of public works, and finally the mayor himself. In some states, the courts and jury system were included in the System. For this purpose, control of the party was necessary. To this end, contributions

to campaign funds were made. In many instances the contribution was impartially distributed to both parties. In order to ensure a delivery of the goods, these interests nominated the treasurer or president of the party committee. He controlled the primaries, dictated nominations, and dominated conventions. In time, he became the party. His business was politics, and his politics was business. The business man was dominant. Upon the franchises which were granted, volumes of paper securities were issued. They entered into circulation, and were used as collateral. Anything which impaired the earnings of the company by regulation, competition, or taxation impaired the value of the securities. This fear allied the stockholders, bankers, lawyers, and business men with the System. It created a class-conscious feeling on their part. It divorced them from politics and arrayed them against the city. This became the heaviest burden which reform had to carry.

Such is the condition which to-day prevails in the majority of the Northern States. It is not competitive business that is identified with politics or represented in the United States Senate, not manufacturing nor merchant princes. For competitive business does not organize for its protection. Nor does such wealth as labor creates. The property-owner seeks to control neither the city nor the state. Nor does he ally himself with party

organizations. But almost without exception the Northern States of the Union have come to be represented in the United States Senate by privileged interests, by the railway and transportation companies, by franchise corporations, and those who have identified their privilege with politics, and through that identification have acquired grants of immense value, tax exemptions of similar importance, or who, fearing local democracy, have entered politics in person or by proxy, and have subverted local and state institutions to their ends.

These privileged industries are limited in number, but powerful in influence. They are the natural monopolies, the railways, express, telegraph, mining, and protected industries in the state and nation; the street-railway, gas, water, electric-lighting, and telephone companies in the cities. Other monopolies there are, but they are in almost every instance dependent upon or identified with some natural monopoly, or are the result of special class legislation. The Sugar Trust is born of the tariff, the Standard Oil and Meat Trusts of railways' discrimination, the Steel Trust of the ownership of the iron ore and coking coal mines. Competition cannot reach such privileges, for the railways know no competition, the mines and natural resources of the country cannot be duplicated, and the local public service corporations occupy favored rights of way in the streets.

They are subject to no competition, regulation, or control.

It is privilege that creates monopoly, and the desire for it that gives birth to corruption. It is the privilege of tariff protection, of railway monopoly, of exemption from taxation, regulation, or competition that leads these influences into politics and causes nine-tenths of the corruption in nation, state, and city. It is about these privileges that the System centres. No other influences have so constant an interest in politics. No other business can afford to expend thousands and even hundreds of thousands of dollars for the control of legislation. And no other influences can be so readily organized.

To-day the System is approaching perfection. Franchises and privileges are disposed of at Washington instead of in the city hall or by the legislature. For, while the forms of local government remain, the control of the city as well as the state by private interests has become so complete that self-government in regard to these matters has been reduced to a minimum. In this sense, the United States Senate has become its own lobby, while even at the state capital, the special lobby is passing away. Men desiring legislation, whether it be for steam or electric railroads, for gas, telephone, or electric-lighting companies, men seeking franchises or tax exemptions, men representing book concerns or other corporations deal-

ing with the state now find their errand simplified, and their agent in the cloakroom of the United States Senate.

The System, thus created in city and state, is still further cemented by official patronage. Federal appointments for the army of postmasters, postal officials, internal revenue collectors and agents, customs collectors, inspectors, and the like pass through the hands of the Senate. Courtesy now insists that presidential nominees shall be satisfactory to the senator representing the state in which the appointee is to serve. As a result, executive appointments have become senatorial appointments. In recent years the form as well as the substance of executive control has been abandoned. Through this army of federal officials, the state machine is strengthened. In the city or county the "federal nephew" looks after the party organization. He makes up the party ticket, controls the primaries and the local conventions, dictates the platform, and declares the party policy. The spoils system has woven itself into the warp and woof of our government. Patronage has become much less a party than a private graft, while the unclassified public servants have become an army of personal retainers, serving the political as well as the business interests of the members of the United States Senate who control their appointment.

In some instances the process here described has been modified. Privilege has adopted the simpler plan of employing a United States senator as its attorney. This means the employment of his influence with the party organization, his control of the legislature, his power to make or mar political careers, and through this means his control of legislative action. Such has been the policy adopted in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, New York and Missouri, and elsewhere, where the representatives of the commonwealth at Washington have returned to the states which have elected them, and sacrificed the interests of the local communities under retainers from their private employers.

Our patriotism is not yet honest enough to condemn this type of boss. He is too formidable, too respectable. He represents the well-to-do class. Moreover, a certain sense of security is felt under such a boss. We know that he will not be too familiar with the people. He represents those who are indifferent to politics and pay their debt to self-government by handsome campaign contributions. He also relieves us from the fear of too much democracy, which, after all, is not a fear of democracy at all, but a fear that our privileges may be interfered with by democracy. When the boss becomes senator, still other reasons draw the hood over our eyes. There are social reasons, the

fear of giving offence, the desire for political advancement, and the hope of participation in the spoils of his betrayal of trust.

But our indignation is still alive to the ward boss, the petty spoilsman. He offends our sense of propriety. For his graft is of another kind. It affects the poor, is a shelter to the saloon-keeper, the gambler, the dive and policy-shop keeper. Apparently, he it is who blocks reform. He votes his precinct or his ward as advantage dictates. He deals in offices and in justice. He secures city contracts and distributes patronage. We do not see, or we will not see, that he is but a cog in the larger machine. His orders come from above. He frankly treats politics as a game of spoils and makes no pretence of virtue. And yet, in comparison with the larger boss, his offences are trifling and his pilfering of insignificant importance. And even he exists because of the System. Were he deprived of support from above, he would topple before public opinion. His tenure of office is based upon the spoils and plunder which the System allows to him, and this he can only secure through the aid of those whom he serves. Deprived of this source of power, his strength would depart as did that of mythical Antæus, who was readily overcome when removed from the contact with Mother Earth.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAY OUT—MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

Ever since the close of the Civil War this business control has been developing itself. It has become an organized System only during the past few years. It has woven itself into the government of nation, state, and city just as did the privilege of negro slavery prior to the Civil War. In many parts of the Union real democracy has become little more than a shadow, the substance has passed into the hands of the great business interests whose privileges depend upon an alliance with government. They have become the real forces in administration. Through them democracy must work in all legislation affecting their interests. And it need hardly be said that the present issues in politics centre about industrial questions, of which the tariff, the trusts, the railways, taxation, labor, and the local public service corporations are the chief.

We cannot hope to enjoy better government so long as we offer such splendid prizes to those who will conspire against the government. Nor can we attach the best talent to the commonwealth so long as riches, power, and influence are

to be obtained through an alliance against the commonwealth. Improvement will only come when such opportunities are removed, when all classes of citizens, whether rich or poor, find that their interests and their honor lie together. And such a condition can only be brought about through the removal of the cause of it and the identification of all classes with the state, rather than against it.

Democracy itself is not primarily at fault. It is not the people who are corrupt. Men do not bribe themselves. Corruption does not spring from the earth. The spoils system does not account for it all. Nor can it be said that experience shows we have too much democracy. The positive agents of evil, the real enemies of the republic, those to whom the corruption of state and city is primarily due, form but a small class, a very small class. And they are identified with privileges, whether they be railway or mine owners resisting taxation or regulation; or the traction, gas, water, telephone, and electric-lighting interests seeking franchises. These are not the traditional good citizens who neglect politics. It would be a boon to good citizenship if they did. But their business is politics, and, unfortunately for us, our politics has become their business. To them, bad government is profitable, reform a menace. They, it is, who hold the key to the System.

In almost every state we have endeavored to

correct the evils of monopoly by public regulation. Railway and franchise commissions have been created, and the resources of legislation and the common law called to our aid in this attempt. Upon this alternative of regulation we have rested all our hopes, for all admit that competition has failed and unregulated monopoly is inimical to freedom. Aside from public regulation, there is but one alternative, and that is public ownership. In hundreds of instances we have tried the former alternative. Resort has been had to legislation in some form or other in almost every state in the Union. But the uniform experience in national, state, and city affairs has demonstrated that in many instances these creatures of the law have become greater and more powerful than the source of their power, the state, which gave them being.

The Citizens' Union of New York in reporting on the legislation of the session of the Assembly at Albany in 1905, said of the bill creating a State Gas and Electric Commission: "In so far as it provides for regulation of incorporations, and of stock and bond issues, it is a wise measure. Otherwise, its provisions are violative of Home Rule. Moreover, the commission is likely in years to come to prove merely political, and will *probably become a safeguard to the corporation rather than a protection to the public.*"

It may be said this does not prove regulation to

be impossible; that the failure lies in the character of our public officials, not in the methods employed. The way out is not to bring more business, but better citizens into politics; the trouble is not an economic, it is a personal one. But the very necessities of these business interests make it imperative that they keep the better citizen out of politics. There might be hope of relief outside of municipal ownership if this were not true. We are thus deprived of the best talent in the city. For no longer can the officer of the franchise corporations, the stockholder, the banker, the broker, the lawyer, their friends or business associates, take an interest in municipal affairs. Their pocket is at war with their civic interests. It is this fact that burdens reform. Their better natures desire good government. When there is a movement to reform the council, the interests of their pocket say: "No! not this time; wait until we secure a franchise." When a straightforward candidate for mayor appears, the same interests counsel: "No! not this man for mayor if his election means lower dividends or increased taxes."

It is this antagonism of interest that robs reform movements of the whole-hearted support of the better-to-do classes in the community. And even reform organizations are dependent for support upon the same influences that maintain the party organizations. For this reason they can-

not touch the franchise question. Not only would it impair their efficiency, but their friends and associates would be injured. Municipal reform that goes to the heart of the evil is likely to sound an end to its own organization. In Chicago, it meant business losses to the men who backed the Municipal Voters' League. In any city, it may mean ostracism. For the System is ruthless in its methods, and its success demands ruthless means. To-day many men are out of politics, not so much from choice or indifference, as from interest or fear. Many who are in politics are there because politics has become their business. An examination of the movement for reform in many of our large cities is conclusive of this fact. In St. Louis it was not the press, the financiers, the lawyers, or the influential men who backed reform. Reform hurt their most profitable business. Not until the common people came forward did the world know that the people of St. Louis had any sense of civic shame. In Chicago permanent reform came from below—inspired, it is true, by those above brave enough to face the cost. In Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, reform which went to the heart of the disease did it at a terrible cost.

But the influence of private ownership does not end here. It does not stop with the exclusion of the best talent of the community from public affairs. It is also responsible for the corrupt and

ignorant in our politics. Through the power of these influences the party ticket is determined. The slate is selected with the aim of securing men who can be controlled by friendship, fear, or purchase. We see such influences at work from the presidency of the United States down to the ward councilman. The people are playing at the game of politics blindfolded—the System plans each move with the skill and foresight of an expert in mimic warfare. The System is at work three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. The citizen arouses himself but once. And on each recurring election the people go to the polls, not to express their convictions on public affairs, so much as to choose between candidates, both of whom, perchance, have been nominated by privileged interests, furnished with funds, or otherwise identified with their desires by ties of one kind or another that are never known to the world.

Herein lies the power of big business. And herein lies the burden on democracy. Not only are the better classes excluded by interest from taking a part in the administration of the city, but the corrupt and inefficient are invited in to take their places. Our aldermanic bodies are not lowered so much by democracy eager for its own kind, they are levelled down by business men, who, having obtained control of the machinery of the party, strangle the efforts of any other class to rise.

And we can only reclaim all men to the city, we can only place the best talent in the council, we can only destroy the class-conscious antagonism that is growing up in our cities, by striking deep into the roots of the System through the public ownership of the natural monopolies through which big business has come into power.

That the burdens involved in municipal ownership are real, cannot be denied. But that they are exaggerated, any one really familiar with the average city must admit. That municipal ownership would greatly diminish, if not wholly correct, most of the abuses of municipal administration I am firmly convinced. On this point we are now able to make some suggestive comparisons. For our cities already perform many functions. And the citizen may judge for himself whether the water company, which the city owns, is in politics more than the gas company which it does not. Does it maintain a lobby in the city council or at the state capital? Does it elect men to office to advance its interests? Does it contribute to campaign funds? Does it prevent reform through the creation of a class interest? Does it deprive the city of its best talent and divorce even the professional world from participation in politics?

An examination of conditions in the average city will demonstrate that the evil influences of public industry are confined to the retention of

some unnecessary employees; to the prevalence of the spoils system, and to some extravagance. In efficiency of service, the public water companies equal, if they do not surpass, the privately owned ones. In almost every city the service rendered is cheaper and better, measured by cost and the convenience of the people, than that offered by the traction companies, the gas or the electric-lighting plants. All this is to be expected. For the city is able to, and in most states must buy in the cheapest market. The credit of the city is of the best. It can borrow money at from three to four per cent. It has no dividends to pay on watered stock. It is constantly under scrutiny. And with rare exceptions, engineering talent of a good order is placed in charge of municipal enterprises.

Examination, too, will show that the corruption and extravagance in public expenditure is exaggerated. It is doubtful if it is more prevalent in public than it is in private business. Public affairs are conducted in the open, they are under the scrutiny of competitors; prices paid are always accessible, and the methods of checking in vogue are more elaborate, if not more effective, than those in private concerns. Further than this, in many cities, all purchases in excess of a small minimum can only be made after competitive bidding. In large contracts, the city often buys more cheaply than does the private individual.

The city's credit is good. There is no delay in payment. It buys in large quantities, and a certain prestige follows sales to the government.

Evidence shows the same to be true in federal affairs. The malfeasance in the postal department, the interior department, in Congress, and elsewhere has grown out of the relationship of the government to the railroads carrying the mails, or desiring to secure to themselves or their officials large tracts of land, timber, or other rights. In any department of public life the personal corruption is insignificant in comparison with the corporate corruption, for the corporation has no sense of responsibility to the public. Nor can it be convicted of a crime.

Much of the hostility to public ownership is based on the conviction that efficiency can only be secured through the hope of pecuniary rewards, or the fear of loss; that waste is inevitable, and that the fear of want dogging at a man's heels is the only stimulus to honest service. The falsity of such a conclusion is a commonplace of observation. The army, the navy, the schools, the railway mail and postal service, the fireman, the policeman, the entire body of public servants within the classified service disprove this assertion.

On the whole public work is probably as well done as is private work, for while the public ser-

vant may loaf, he is not animated by hostility to his boss. His hours may be shorter, but his interest is greater. Political jobs are not only sought because of the higher pay, but because of the greater dignity of public work. Whether it be in the heart of a cabinet minister or of a "white wings" on the street, a fine feeling of self-respect comes from serving one's fellows. It is a sense of *noblesse oblige*. It sustains the men of eminence who abandon lucrative posts at home to serve their country in the Philippines, in Cuba, or in the fever-stricken swamps of Panama. Colonel Waring found the same spirit in the street-cleaning gangs that he organized in New York. The daily acts of bravery reported in our fire departments rank with similar deeds in the navy; while the sacrifices of the police department are comparable with the forlorn hopes of the army. We have greatly undervalued the spirit that animates the public servant. And with the added dignity that would follow an increase in the functions of the city, there would come a corresponding improvement in the pride, efficiency, and character of the public service.

Further than this, with the temptation to great profit removed, the talent now grouped about the franchise interests would be free to work for the city. Its interest would then jump with its patriotism, and along with the rest of the community it

would demand good service, low charges, and efficient management. One of the advantages of municipal ownership is that it converts every citizen into an effective critic. He can register his complaint at the polls. It frees the press and engages its energies in the city's behalf. Every public employee would then be subject to daily inspection by thousands of masters; while bad service would have to pass examination at the polls. It is safe to say that no administration which sacrificed the daily comfort, health, or convenience of the people to political ends could long maintain itself in office. The merit system would then become an imperative necessity. All voices would insist upon it. This is what happened in national administration, where the abolition of the spoils system was only demanded when the public employees became a numerous and important body.

During the years when the car service on the Brooklyn Bridge was operated by the city, we had an exhibition of this influence in New York. Even in the days of the Tammany régime, the spoils system in its worst forms did not enter here. The interests of the thousands of passengers who daily made use of the bridge prevented such a sacrifice of the public convenience. Moreover, municipal ownership will create a public sense, a social conscience, a belief in the city and an interest in it. And it can come by no other means, for so long

as the city touches us in but few conscious ways, so long shall we be indifferent to it. But every added contact educates our sense of dependence and affection. The schools are a great agency in this regard. So are the parks and the libraries, whose administration we jealously guard.

As a matter of fact, we have not too much politics, but too little politics; not too much for our cities to do, but too little. An enlarged public spirit will only come with enlarged public activity, just as the flowering of public enthusiasm for municipal administration in England came in with the recent increase in the activities of the city. As has been well said, "The cure for democracy is more democracy."

In the discussion of municipal ownership many are inclined to reduce the question to the basis of, does it pay? can the community produce at as low a cost as the private corporation? We have attempted to discountenance any extension of the public service by an appeal to the purse. But there is another measure of value than the tax rate, another standard of utility than money cost. The question should rather be, does municipal ownership pay in a higher civic morality, an aroused public sentiment, a union of all forces against corruption, a higher standard of comfort, a better quality of service, a dearer sense of the city? Such are the standards by which we measure

all other expenditure; such is the justification of our police and fire departments, our schools, libraries, and parks, our health, street, and charity departments. Municipal dividends do not compare in importance with municipal health and well-being, with a cleaner home environment, an enlarged opportunity for life. These are the standards by which every public activity is to be measured, and in these regards municipal ownership has justified itself.

But fortunately we need not accept the alternative suggested of increased cost. For the balance sheets of public trading are their own justification. The City of New York has already expended $200,000,000 on its docks. It realizes annually in the form of rentals and charges $3,000,000, and $879,929 after paying all interest charges and expenses. From its markets it obtains $315,000, and over one and a half millions net from its water supply. The city of Cincinnati, corrupt and inert as it is, earns a large revenue from the Cincinnati Southern Railway, which was constructed by the city to save its business from railway monopoly, and $300,000 a year from its water works. Chicago has owned its water plant for upwards of fifty years, and aids its rates to the extent of $1,250,000 a year from this source. The city of Cleveland has a water plant valued at $9,141,266, exclusive of depreciation, with but $3,557,000 of bonded in-

debtedness against it; and including as earnings the water supplied to schools and public buildings for fire protection and the like, it earns nearly three-quarters of a million dollars annually, after meeting all charges.

As a matter of fact, more than half of our cities own their own water supplies. And these cities include almost all the larger ones in the country. Even the foes of municipal ownership admit the necessity of public management here. The interest of the community is so great that it cannot with safety be left in private hands.

Many cities also operate their own electric-lighting plants. Chicago, Detroit, Allegheny, Wheeling, and Seattle light their streets, while hundreds of smaller communities supply the private consumer as well. In few, if any, of these cities is there any demand for a return to private control. Some years ago, the people and press of New York jealously resented any interference with their water supply through the Ramapo grab. The people of Boston believe their water supply to be the best in the world. In Philadelphia the best citizenship of that city protested against the lease of their gas works within the last few months, when an extension of the lease for seventy-five years, to the United Gas Improvement Company, was attempted. The city was aroused to rebellion, and the use of force if neces-

sary to prevent the disposal of its property. In almost any city an attempt to sell the water plant would be treated much as would a proposal to employ Pinkerton detectives in the place of the public police, or a suggested abandonment of the fire department to insurance adjusters, the schools to the churches, or the parks to the land speculators.

But not only are the public water plants in America almost all profitable, but they are the best plants in the country from an engineering point of view. The city is limited by no terminable franchise. It can build for the future. A private company, threatened at all times by public ownership and inspired only by a desire for dividends, cannot do this. It pursues a hand-to-mouth policy. In some instances financial difficulties do not permit of any other policy. At any rate, the engineering in city undertakings has been of a more permanent, enduring, and intelligent quality than that of the private companies.

The same comparison may be made of many other departments, of the schools, of the parks, of the fire departments. The eye of the public is always upon them. The reporters of the press are constantly on the lookout for a point of attack. The hostility of party places one-half of the community ever on the alert for scandal, extravagance, or mistake. The accounts are open to scrutiny;

in some states public auditors are placed upon the books of the city and county, while in every transaction from two to a half-hundred men must be involved. These checks do not exist in the dealings of the private company. For it controls a portion of the press, makes public opinion, is in alliance with the party, and deals in the dark with its own nominees.

Others there are who admit the necessity of such activities as the city has already assumed, but who halt at any further extension on the ground that it is socialistic. Such is the objection in England to municipal trading. But the movement in this direction continues unabated. And history itself disposes of this objection. Society emerged from savagery through social organization. Liberty, enlightenment, and culture have all come through an increase in public functions. All of the present agencies of the state are an encroachment of society into the realm of private activities, and each, in turn, has given an added freedom to the individual and in no way threatened the liberty of initiative that those who challenge further activities fear. The ultimate object of all effort is to protect the individual and enlarge the sphere of his opportunity. The hundreds of functions now performed by the city, from the police department to the parks, are an exercise of public control. But instead of taking from us liberty, they guarantee

it. They secure liberty to work or to play, in our homes and on the streets. The common care of education and of health leaves the individual free to pursue his work at the lowest possible cost to himself. In this same sense, the city is a great wealth producer. It is but part of the division of labor that characterizes modern life.

What the future extension of these activities will be, cannot be anticipated. For our cities are constantly adding to their burdens and rapidly enlarging their functions in response to the needs of the public and the dangers of unrestrained individualism. There seems, however, to be a well-defined line of demarcation between the functions which should be performed by the city and those which should be left to private control. *That line is fixed by monopoly. Whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly,* especially where it offers a service of universal use. So long as the service is subject to the regulating power of competition it should be left to private control. For monopoly and liberty cannot live together. Either monopoly will control or seek to control the city, or the city must own the monopoly. Regulated private ownership in such industries has not only failed, but will continue to fail. Moreover, the best results to the public can only come by experiment, by trial, and the city cannot experiment with private property. This is true as

to rates, it is true as to service, it is true as to a hundred details of management.

There is little to be feared from the activity of an enlarged official class. Even with all the suggested services municipalized, the city employees would not exceed ten per cent. of the voting population. Against an aroused public sentiment they would be an insignificant force. And all of the public services, like water, light, and transportation, are under daily inspection by every member of the community. This, of itself, is a guarantee against inefficiency.

A generation ago it was urged by John Stuart Mill that the burden of proof was upon those who advocated an extension of the activities of the state; that private initiative should be the rule, governmental activity the exception; and that only in rare cases should the rule be departed from. This burden on the advocates of municipal ownership has been a heavy one, heavy in the interpretation put upon it, equally heavy in the proof required. It has been that of the criminal law, of proof "beyond a reasonable doubt." It may now be fairly asked, has not the burden of proof as to municipal ownership shifted? Has not private operation demonstrated its inability to perform the services assumed, except at the expense of our political life?

For the defence that is offered by privilege

for corruption, for its political activity, is necessity. It is maintained that such business can be conducted in no other way.

But there are other considerations than political morality which demand public ownership. The supply of transportation, light, heat, power, and water is of the utmost importance to the community. The services rendered have become a necessity to the life, health, comfort, convenience, and industry of the city. No other industries compare with them in this respect. Our common life is wholly dependent upon them. Without water, the community could scarce live a day. The wheels of industry would cease to turn. Only less important is the gas which fires our stoves and lights our homes, while the transportation agencies form the arterial system of the city, enabling its business, industry, and common activities to be carried on. Moreover, the housing problem, the greatest problem of city life, is largely dependent upon transportation. The price we are paying for bad housing, with its vice, misery, and sickness, is awful to contemplate. Unless relieved, this condition will constantly grow worse. It cannot grow better. And one of the means of relief for our huddled, herded masses is through cheap, easy transit to the open fields of the suburbs. Such relief cannot be secured through private enterprise, for operation of the transporta-

tion agencies for the aid of the poor is incompatible with dividends upon watered stock. Such relief can be most easily achieved through public ownership.

Along with the housing problem, education is dependent upon transit. To the poor, the transportation charge is a heavy item. In thousands of cases it is a prohibitive cost to education. Likewise the merchant, the mechanic, the clerk, or the laboring man, the shop girl, the school children are forced by conditions which they cannot control to live far from the place of their daily toil. They have no choice.. The street railways are the city's distributing agencies. What they supply is a necessity of a high order. In good times or in bad the public must patronize them. They form the arteries of our municipal bodies, and to an even greater degree than the parks, and to a scarcely less vital extent than the police, fire, and sanitary protection, has this service become a necessity of life to every citizen. He has no choice but to use it, and no choice as to service, for real competition there is none. So acute, in fact, is this need that it must be satisfied before his grocery, clothes, or coal bills, for his meat and drink depend upon his getting to his work. And out of every day's income he must pay from ten to thirty cents in car fare; out of every week's wage from sixty cents to two dollars; out of his annual income from

thirty-five to one hundred dollars for services which are incidental to life, and a burden which the city involves. This means that the working girl and common laborer must pay from one-sixth to one-tenth of their wages for transportation; that the standard of living of every laborer, mechanic, and working man is reduced to that extent; that he will pay into the pockets of a private company more than he pays in taxes to the nation, the state, and the city; more than he pays for his schools, his water, police, and fire protection; more than he pays for all of the public returns that organized society accords him. This toll is a tariff on the education of his children, a tariff which often amounts to an embargo.

In like manner, with the growth of the city, light, heat, and water cease to be cheap and accessible. When supplied by private companies, the charge is not determined, as are other services, by cost or by competition in the market. Price is fixed by the monopoly rule of charging what the traffic will bear or by what a dishonest alliance with city officials permits. And these services, like that of transit, are initial burdens on a man's income. Urban life is impossible without them.

Before the city dweller can begin to feed, clothe, or take care of his family, these monopolies which the city creates, and must of necessity create, impose upon him a charge of probably one hun-

dred dollars a year. They form one of the largest items in his domestic budget. Nor do these charges tend to decrease. For the same causes which lead to the growth of rent increase the earnings of these companies as well. Population, of itself, creates demand. The companies need only offer the service. Be it good or bad, the people have no alternative but to accept it. An examination of the earnings of such companies shows a steady and constant growth of from five to ten per cent. a year. They may be expected to double in about ten years' time. And nothing the companies can do will greatly alter the growth. Nothing skill and enterprise can devise will materially affect it. By the piling up of population the unearned increment becomes theirs without effort. It grows by night as well as by day. It continues in bad times as well as in good.

Alone among the industries of the city these corporations, along with the owners of the land, are enriched by the growth of society. The law is as resistless as the law of gravitation. The growth of the city and the necessity of a place on which to work and to stand involve the servitude to the franchise corporation and the land owner of all those who dwell therein.

But aside from these considerations, public ownership is demanded on other grounds, and quite as imperative ones. We might continue to bear

exorbitant charges if our institutional life were bettered by it. But the reverse is true. Instead of politics being purified by abstention from business, it is corrupted by it. In Chicago it was not the water-works department nor the thousands of office-holders who turned the city over to the "gray wolves" in the Council. In St. Louis it was not the spoilsmen who overthrew democracy. In New York it is not the office-holding class, nor even the petty grafters, who prevent reform. It is not the foreigner, universal suffrage, nor the saloon, but the franchise-seeking corporations and their agents, the great political parties, who have reduced our cities to their present level.

Nowhere is municipal government seriously menaced by the office-holding class, nor by a machine built upon that class. But wherever privileged interests have identified themselves with the city, and through money, bribery, or campaign contributions, secured control of the party, real democracy has practically come to an end, and a new sort of oligarchy has come in; an oligarchy which observes the features of democracy and respects its paper forms, but which has taken the city's agents into its own employ and uses them for its own pecuniary advantage.

CHAPTER IX

DOES MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP PAY?

The city represents the high-water mark of democracy in Great Britain. Here alone has manhood suffrage made use of the ample powers resident in it. The urban and county councils are the only really democratic bodies in England. For through the reactionary attitude of the House of Lords and the privileged classes in the Commons, comparatively little democratic legislation is obtainable from Parliament.

But the English city is democratic in its ideals, in the personnel of its council, in its responsiveness to public opinion as well as in its achievements. Democracy is finding itself in England, not through Parliament, but through the agency of local government. England is to-day being democratized, just as it was commercialized—through the city. From these centres of ancient tradition, caste, and privilege, the most vital influences of the Empire are emanating, while the people are being awakened to a larger life through the political forces that were ushered in by the parliamentary reforms of 1882.

Through this change democracy is assuming new

forms and taking on new functions. The liberalism of the middle of the century is being Fabianized, while the political programme of an earlier generation is being extended into the realms of industrial and social reform. From a system of political indifference, tempered by charitable effort, the city has become an agency of coöperative endeavor. New issues are being raised about the taxation of land values for local purposes, the municipalization of all monopolies, the housing of the poor, the extension of public education, the improvement of the conditions of labor, and the standard of living of the people.

All this has been opposed as socialism by the reactionary influences interested only in maintaining the *status quo*. Opposition, however, has not checked the advance of the movement, whose remarkable progress may be seen in the increase in municipal indebtedness in recent years. In 1875 the obligations of the British local bodies were but $465,000,000. By 1904 this indebtedness had grown to $1,950,000,000, or over four hundred per cent. At the same time the per capita indebtedness of the local bodies had increased from twenty to fifty dollars.

Such an exhibit of local indebtedness would imply a recklessness on the part of democracy, were it not for the fact that it has been largely incurred for productive undertakings, which are an offset

to the indebtedness of the local bodies, and in the aggregate earn a large surplus over operating expenses and fixed charges. In addition to this, the problems of housing, of slum clearance, of education and the like, have aroused the cities to measures of relief which have considerably expanded the municipal expenditures as well as increased the burdens of taxation.

Municipal trading, as it is called in Great Britain, is conducted with scrupulous attention to maintenance, replacement, and adequate sinking-fund appropriations, so that the property is kept at its original efficiency. At the same time, careful accounting protects the public from such criticism of municipal enterprise as is common in America. All municipal accounts are published, and I have never heard the charge suggested that they were juggled. In every city two elective auditors are chosen, and in the larger communities professional accountants pass upon the city's affairs. In the case of the county and district councils, a still further check is maintained by the audit of the Local Government board. An examination of the tables of taxation and indebtedness of seventy-four boroughs and county boroughs, which include all of the larger cities in the United Kingdom, shows that high taxation usually coincides with private ownership, while low rates are usually found where the city has gone in for remunerative under-

takings. The increase in local taxation in England is due to the same influences that have been operative all over the world. There, as elsewhere, increased taxation is not attributable to municipal industry so much as to the advance in education, sanitation, and poor-law administration.

As in the United States, the water supply was the earliest of the services municipalized in England. In London the supply is still in the hands of private companies, although appraisal proceedings are now in progress for their acquisition by the public. Outside of the metropolis, there are but few cities in England and Wales that do not own their own plants.

The acquisition of the supply of gas has been somewhat delayed by the policy of first acquiring the electric-lighting plants, but despite this fact the number of communities which manage their own gas supply tends annually to increase. The returns of the Board of Trade offer reliable data on this point. From these reports it appears that in the United Kingdom there are two hundred and fifty-six plants now owned by the cities, and that four hundred and fifty-four companies are authorized to carry on the gas business.

In 1903 the public plants represented a capital outlay of $180,000,000, as against an investment of $385,000,000 by the four hundred and fifty-four private companies still in the field.

From the returns from the local authorities operating the gas supply, it appears that the net revenue in the year 1903 amounted to about $11,000,000, and that the average rate charged per thousand cubic feet was sixty-four cents, as against an average of seventy cents charged by four hundred and fifty-four private companies.[1]

While the number of plants owned by the public is very much less than the number still in the hands of private agencies, the number of consum-

[1] The prices charged for gas by many cities are very much below this average. In almost all cases the rate charged by the municipality is lower than that charged by private companies. In addition to this, the candle power of the municipal plants is generally very much higher. The following comparative statement of ten cities shows this disparity (these figures, however, are several years old):

	Price Charged per 1000 Cu. Ft.	Candle Power	Profit Per Cent. on Investment
MUNICIPAL GAS WORKS.			
Glasgow	.50	21	8.3
Manchester	.60	19½	5.7
Bradford	.54	18	7.3
Salford	.53	19	5.8
Oldham	.52	19½	6.9
COMPANY GAS WORKS.			
Brentford	.70	15	8.0
Dublin	.84	16	7.9
Brighton	.66	15	7.6
Croydon	.64	14	8.3
Hastings	.74	16	8.5

The lowest price for gas is found in the city of Sheffield, where a private company controls the field. The rates have been reduced to thirty-six cents per 1000 cu. ft., and yet the company declares ten per cent. dividends on its capital stock.

ers supplied by the public is considerably over one-half of the total.

Just as occurred in the traffic of the street railways, public ownership has stimulated gas consumption among all classes of the community. Under municipal operation the poorer classes are able to use gas. In many towns practically the entire population is supplied. In the cities of Glasgow, Manchester, Edinburgh, Oldham, Bolton, and Halifax one person out of 4.6 to 5.5 uses gas. Comparing thirty-one towns of over 500,000 population having municipal plants, with thirty-one towns having private plants, the ratio of connections appears to be one customer to four and nine-tenths people in the public plants, and one connection to nine and three-tenths people in the private plants. About one-half as many people per thousand of population make use of the service under private as under municipal operation.[1] In so far as data are available for the United States, the ratio of use ranges from one person in twelve to one person in twenty-three.

This general use is traceable to the policy adopted by cities which have reduced charges and furnished metres, fittings, stoves, etc., at low prices, or free of charge; while prepayment

[1] See article by Milo Roy Maltbie entitled "Gas Lighting in Great Britain," *Municipal Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 559.

metres, arranged like slot machines, enable the very poor to purchase gas in small quantities.

Speaking of the experience of England in the operation of this industry, Mr. Robert Donald, the editor of the *Municipal Year Book,* and probably the most competent authority on municipal questions in Great Britain, says:

"In the case of the gas supply, there is a large number of persons who question the advisability of municipal operation; but experience has definitely shown that municipalities sell gas at a lower price, give better service, pay higher wages, require shorter hours of work, conduct their plants as economically, often decrease taxation through the profits made, are more progressive and ready to adopt new inventions than the private companies."[1]

Despite the fact that the aim of the municipality has been to reduce the price and improve the service, the net earnings from the gas industry have been considerable. The city of Manchester aids its rates to the extent of $665,000 a year from the sale of gas. In the year 1903 the city of Bolton earned $80,000; Belfast, $140,000; Blackpool, $70,000; Nottingham, $180,000; Salford, $150,000, while a number of smaller communities earned sums ranging from $10,000 to $30,000 from this source.

[1] "Municipal Ownership in Great Britain," *Municipal Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 512.

In no field of municipal enterprise has Parliament recognized the essential monopoly of the industry as it has in the case of gas. The public has been well protected by legislation, and the local authorities have been granted large powers of control. Under the act of 1847 the average profits of gas companies were limited to ten per cent. per annum on the paid-up capital. Since that time the maximum profit has been lowered, so far as it relates to additional capital, to seven per cent. on common and six per cent. on preferred stock. Moreover, a sliding scale has been adopted by which the interests of the consumer and the company are cared for. Companies are compelled to dispose of all additional stock by auction, and if the stock thus sold realizes a premium, the money may not be divided among the stockholders. At the same time, the local authorities are empowered to test gas metres and examine into the illuminating power of the gas, which must be up to a fixed and established standard.

Of even greater interest to us is the experience of Great Britain in the municipalization of her tramways, for in Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, San Francisco, and Detroit the street-railway question has become one of practical politics. About no branch of municipal trading in Great Britain has the fire of controversy centred as it has about this, the latest and the most extensive

business which the cities have undertaken. Frequent criticism is heard in this country of these undertakings, and comparisons adverse to English plants are common. But criticism of this sort overlooks the differences in local conditions. If comparison is to be made at all, it should be between private ownership and public ownership in Great Britain, rather than between public ownership in that country and private ownership in America. For the wants of the people are so different that different standards of service exist. But aside from this fact, the public tramways of Great Britain are equal, if not superior, in construction and operation to those in America. The lines are more substantially built. They are operated with a jealous regard for public comfort and convenience. The tramways of the London County Council are laid with concrete foundations, with girder-grooved rails, and many of them have substituted the underground trolley for overhead connections. The English service is slower than the American, but its safety is greater, while adequate seating accommodations are supplied to all. The employees are better treated than they are under private ownership. Hours of labor have been reduced, and in many cities advertisements have been excluded from the cars, while workingmen's trains are run at reduced fares in the morning and even-

ing. Further than this, there is no tendency, no desire on the part of any English city to return to private operation. The benefits enjoyed have been too pronounced. This is the best of all tests of the change.

A further evidence of public approval is the rapid growth of public ownership, for in no department of city trading has such progress been made as in the municipalization of the tramways. Almost every large city in the United Kingdom has either taken over or is preparing to assume the transportation business. The conviction is general that this service is so identified with the well-being of the community that the best results can only be secured through public management.

In the acquisition of the plants, many were purchased from private companies at their original cost, less depreciation. In the early proceedings to secure possession the companies demanded payment for the franchises enjoyed, but in a case which went up from London this claim was overruled. While the companies claimed over $3,000,000 as compensation, the arbitrator appraised the plant at $505,000, which valuation was sustained by the courts.

In 1903 there were 142 municipal tramways in the United Kingdom, as against 154 in the hands of private owners. The capital outlay of the former plants was $122,000,000, representing 1067

miles of track. The average cost of the plants per mile was $115,000. In 1901 public bodies operated but twenty-nine per cent. of the total undertakings, but earned forty-three per cent. of the aggregate net revenue and carried forty-six per cent. of the total number of passengers conveyed. Since that time the extension in public ownership has been very great. In 1903 the net revenue upon the total investment was $8,000,000, or seven and three-quarters per cent. on the capital employed.[1]

As in many other enterprises, the city of Glasgow was a pioneer in street-railway operation. Prior to 1894 the lines were in the hands of a private company operating under a franchise. A controversy arose between the company and its employees, which stimulated a growing demand for municipal operation. After the acquisition of the system by the city it electro-equipped the lines and, coincident with its opening to the public, fares were reduced thirty-three per cent. Despite the fact that the private company established a competing omnibus line, the receipts, as well as the passengers carried, showed a marked increase.

Since that time the lines have been extended into

[1] At the close of the fiscal year 1904 there were 162 tramway undertakings owned by the cities, as against 142 at the close of the previous year. The total capital outlay was $140,000,000 and the net revenue over operating expenditures was $9,500,000. The return on the investment made was eight per cent. and the average fare paid by the 1,194,782,762 passengers carried was two and one-tenth cents. These statistics are taken from the Board of Trade returns.

the outlying districts, while the trackage in operation has been more than trebled. In eight years' time the passengers carried increased from 86,500,000 to 177,000,000, while the gross receipts grew from $1,110,600 during the eleven months prior to June 1, 1895, to $3,265,995 in the year 1903.[1]

Of the passengers carried in the latter year, 18.11 per cent. paid but one cent fare, 69 per cent. but two cents, 9.21 per cent. but three cents, while the balance paid from four to six cents, depending upon the length of the haul. The average fare per passenger was one and three-fourths cents. In the fiscal year 1903, the earnings of the system, amounting to $3,265,995, were applied as follows:

Permanent way, electric-equipment buildings, fixtures, power station, cars, etc.	$637,775.00
Interest and sinking fund	547,125.00
Operating, power, general expense, and repairs	1,521,560.00
	$2,706,460.00
Other net earnings	$559,535.00

The operating cost was but 46 per cent.

[1] This showing of passengers and earnings must be taken with a slight qualification growing out of the change from horse to electric traction, which, in England, as well as in America, has greatly stimulated earnings.

Nearly one-half of the disbursements of the year were for equipment, fixtures, power station, interest, and sinking fund—all save interest being for betterments. But despite these additions to the equipment, there remained net earnings of $559,535 to be applied to reserve, the common good, and other municipal purposes.

This showing is in the face of the fact that the average fare per mile had been reduced from 1.78 cents under private management to .94 cents under public control. In fact, the earnings from public operation have been sufficient to enable the city to reconstruct the entire permanent way out of current revenue. In addition to this, the city has laid aside large sums for depreciation, and in seven years' time has written out of existence the original cost of the horse equipment purchased on the installation of the system.[1]

[1] The general results of the municipal operation of this service in the city of Glasgow are summarized by Mr. Milo Roy Maltbie as follows:

"Municipal operation in Glasgow, as compared with private operation in Glasgow, has improved service, reduced fares, increased wages, shortened hours of labor, developed traffic, paid off part of the capital, kept road in repair, converted a portion to electric traction, and made much larger allowances for depreciation, sinking funds, renewal and reserve funds. Compared with private management in *other* cities of Great Britain, Glasgow has improved its service more rapidly, has been as progressive in adopting new inventions, treats its employees with more consideration, pays as high wages as any and in some cases higher; has developed traffic much more rapidly, has made larger allowances for depreciation, sinking funds, renewals, maintenance charges, etc., and yet furnishes transportation facilities cheaper than in any other British city.

"Further, no counterbalancing disadvantages have as yet appeared.

Similar showings have been made by other cities in the United Kingdom. The London County Council operates seventy-two miles of lines and is building more than one hundred miles more. In addition it owns and leases forty-two miles of track on the north side of the Thames to a private company. Liverpool has nearly one hundred miles in operation, while Manchester, Bradford, Leeds, Huddersfield, Sheffield, Newcastle, Dundee, Aberdeen, and others both own and operate their plants. The city of Liverpool acquired its plant from a private company in 1897. During the first six years of public operation the number of passengers carried increased 194 per cent., while the receipts during the same period grew eighty per cent. This showing of earnings was made in the face of the fact that the city reduced its fares by one-half, increased the wages of the employees, reduced the hours of employment, and doubled

Party politics has no recognition in the city departments of Glasgow. The administration is untainted with bribery, corruption, jobbery, or inefficiency. Employment is permanent during efficient service, and advancement is dependent wholly upon fitness. The employees have not used their power as voters, either directly or indirectly, to secure positions, to increase wages, to shorten hours, or to retain their positions when incompetent.

"The Tramways Department has entirely different objects in view than the private company. 'Larger profits,' as a motto, has been superseded by 'better and cheaper service.' Financial considerations have not been lost sight of, but the profits of operation, instead of going into the hands of private individuals, have been used for the general good. In a word, the welfare of the city and its citizens has been made the all-important consideration."—*Municipal Affairs*, Vol. 4., No. 1, p. 59.

the mileage of the system. Not only has the plant paid all operating expenses and interest charges, but in five years' time $625,000 has been applied to the sinking fund, reserve account, depreciation, and surplus.

The London County Council has followed a mixed policy of ownership and operation, and of ownership and leasing to a private company. From these mixed experiments some interesting deductions are offered. The benefits claimed from municipal operation are: (1) a relief of taxation; (2) the addition of an all-night service; (3) the running of workingmen's cars at reduced rates; (4) a general reduction of all fares; (5) the institution of a ten hours' workday for employees, with one day's rest in seven; and (6) an increase in the wages paid. Despite these increased burdens, the Council has made a creditable showing from the operation of its system.

The terms imposed on the lines leased until 1910 to the North Metropolitan Tramway Company make the protection secured for the community in the most radical American franchise seem ridiculous. Under the terms of this lease, the company pays the Council $225,000 a year rental for the use of the track, and twelve and one-half per cent. of any increase in its receipts. The company is also required to set aside $180,000 a year to maintain and reconstruct the lines. Fares must

not be increased, and workingmen's cars, at low fares, are required to be run up to eight o'clock in the morning.

While the leasing of the lines has proven very profitable from a financial point of view, the publicly operated system has been more advantageous to the community in other ways. While the average fare on the municipal cars is one and three-fourths cents, on the company's cars it is two and one-fourth cents. Five million workers are carried annually on the Council's tramways at one-cent fares, involving a saving of $500,000 a year.

In the matter of electric lighting, similar results have been achieved. More than one-half of the capital invested in such industries in Great Britain represents municipal plants. London and Newcastle-upon-Tyne are about the only large cities now served by private companies. At the present time there are 356 municipal undertakings in operation or course of construction with an investment of $150,000,000. A comparison of the prices charged for current by the municipalities shows that the average charges were 9.12 cents per kilowatt hour in 1900 and 7.64 cents in 1902, as against an average price charged by the private companies of 10.5 cents and 9.8 cents in the same years.

Under the Telegraphs Act of 1899, English municipalities are empowered to establish tele-

phone enterprises under licenses from the Postmaster General. But five cities have taken advantage of this act, although a half-dozen others are taking steps for the acquisition of this service. The Glasgow system has 10,632 connections, and the gross earnings for the year ending May 31, 1903, were $175,000. The tariff rates are $25 a year for unlimited service over the entire system, extending over one hundred and forty-three square miles, with an alternative limited rate of $17 under certain conditions.

The net revenue of the system at the end of the second year, exclusive of interest and sinking-fund appropriation, was $8,500.

In the cities of Brighton, Hull, Portsmouth, and Swansea, the rate for unlimited service ranges from $25 to $30 a year.

But the English city has not been content with the municipalization of such utilities as have been enumerated. Applications have been made to the Board of Trade for permission to manufacture steam engines, gas and electric fittings, paving materials, cold-air storage, and ice; to supply milk; to open up concert rooms, saloons, and refreshment halls, hotels, and cycle tracks. Factories for the manufacture of tram-cars have been established, while the opening of municipal banks and bakeries has been suggested. In the North of England an agitation has been started for public

collieries, while such enterprises as public baths, laundries, lodging houses, and the like have become commonplace in many cities. Several towns are the owners of race courses, from which they derive a considerable revenue. The corporation of Bath has recently expended $150,000 upon its baths and promenades. Bournemouth, another resort, owns winter gardens and golf links, and offers an excellent orchestra. Harrogate and Leamington own their own Turkish baths and pump rooms; while the city of Southport has opened an amusement beach with switchbacks, bicycle railways, toboggans, and the like.

Many towns engage in farming in connection with the disposal of their sewage. The city of Nottingham derives an annual revenue of $32,500 from the sale of live-stock, and a dairy farm; while Wolverhampton enjoys an income of an equal amount from the same source. The city of Birmingham sells enough stock, wool, crops, etc., from its sewage farm to yield a revenue of $125,000 a year. Bradford has a hotel; Colchester an oyster fishery. Birkenhead relieves its rates to the extent of $50,000 annually from its ferries; Manchester is the principal shareholder in the Manchester Ship Canal, having invested $25,000,000 in that great undertaking. Liverpool and Bradford manufacture artificial stone, which is used in the construction of model dwellings. No fewer than

two hundred and twenty-eight towns own public market-places and halls producing an aggregate annual income of $2,760,000 and a net profit in relief of taxes of $418,000. The city of Liverpool enjoys an average income of $160,000 from its markets and $500,000 a year from the rental of its lands.

A number of the smaller English boroughs are also the fortunate possessors of land. The little town of Bodmin in Cornwall meets all the expenses of the borough from the income of its land. The same is true of Doncaster, Boston, and the town of Penryn, in all of which the rental of lands has relieved the corporations from direct taxation.

The city of Newcastle receives $170,000 a year from ground rents; while Bristol, Glasgow, Hull, and Nottingham receive amounts ranging from $90,000 to $175,000 from their estates.

While the financial showing of municipal enterprise is the feature first scrutinized, it is not the motive that has made the movement popular with the people. Nor has the relief of the taxpayer animated the council so much as have the convenience and comfort of the public. Not only have strikes been eliminated and service improved, but the indifference of private management has been superseded by cordial relations with the employees, increased wages, shorter hours, and a thoughtful consideration of the public; while

workingmen's trains with cheap fares have been added and an attempt made to relieve the tenement evils by opening up the country districts.

A similar policy has prevailed in the management of the water, electric-lighting, and gas industries. The cities have recognized that pure water and cheap light were essential to decent living, and that their freest use should be stimulated. Vice and crime do not thrive in the clear light of day, and the English cities have found that an electric light or a lamp-post was the most effective sort of policeman.

Moreover, through ownership the cities have been able to coördinate their enterprises, to consolidate the traction and electric-lighting plants, and to experiment with the service.

The effect of this movement has been to stimulate citizenship. The opening of a municipal tramway is an occasion for public rejoicing. The people feel that the cars are their cars, and that in supporting them they are using their own. This side of the balance sheet cannot be presented in words or figures, but its effect upon the public is most inspiring.

It is this sense of intimacy with the city that we most lack in America. It is a thing that can only come through constant physical touch with the community. Evidence of this fact is already seen in the parks, in the bath houses, the libraries, and

the schools which have been opened to the people in America. Officials in charge of these agencies all testify to the change in the attitude of the people toward their common property. A sense of responsibility is awakened by ownership, and, in a short time, an affectionate regard for the agencies which serve them is aroused.

The experience of Great Britain seems to demonstrate that the greater the number of things done by the city, the better they will be done. In America we have reversed that which is a commonplace in all other affairs of life, and failed to appreciate that interest, affection, and work are in a direct ratio with responsibility.

The attitude of the public on the question of municipal trading, as well as the feeling of the average English official towards the movement, is indicated by the following quotation from an address by the Lord Mayor of Manchester:

"The expansion of corporation activity is not likely to diminish in volume. The growth of municipal responsibilities illustrates the drift, and, as I believe, the irresistible drift, of public affairs. . . . The democratic ideal is being worked out through municipalities. Communism and Socialism, words of terror a few short years ago, are finding a peaceful solution in various phases of municipal work. For what are free libraries, art galleries, baths, parks, technical

schools, tramways, but communistic efforts? . . . We need some stimulus to quicken our sense of the value of mutual helpfulness. The real resources, material and mental, of a city like ours are probably greater than were ever known in the world's history. Is it not possible to so direct these resources that the lives of all of us may be sweetened and made more tolerable? Some day men will awake to the immense possibilities of corporate action, and the community will find salvation, not in the patronage and gifts of the wealthy, but in the combined and intelligent efforts of the people themselves."

CHAPTER X

THE CITY REPUBLIC

We have seen how the privileged interests have woven themselves into the government of the city through the control of the party and the use of campaign contributions, spoils, and corruption. This process has finally perfected itself in many states by the election of the state boss and the owner of privileged interests to the United States Senate.

All this has at last become a conscious organization, perfect in its adjustment to the business ends for which it is designed; an organization in which the spoils of city, county, and state are built up layer upon layer like the tiers of a pyramid the apex of which is the Senate and for the maintenance of which the patronage of the United States Government ramifies back to city, county, and state.

And throughout this organization the interests of the steam railroads, transportation companies, mines, and public service corporations run like the warp of a cloth bound together by the strands of party organization and the spoils system. Or to borrow by analogy from musical composition,

amid the trumpets of party regularity and the flourish of campaign and platform runs the effective refrain of the privileged interests which have allied their business with politics, and in so doing have given us a business men's government.

In organization, power, and entrenched position, the System which has been constructed seems almost invincible, and the prospect for relief by unorganized democracy well-nigh hopeless. For the checks and balances of our government, the division of power among the legislative, executive, and judicial departments render it a comparatively easy matter for a conscious, powerful influence to block democracy by the control of a single branch of the government. Moreover, the removal of the control of local affairs from the city to the state, and the practical control of state affairs by the United States Senate, removes the centre of agitation from the city to the state and federal government. But within the past few years, this movement towards centralization has aroused a countermovement for decentralization. The jockeying measures of party bosses, the attempted passage of franchise grabs by the legislature, the interference by the state with the police and fire departments, the burden of securing relief from excise and financial problems from the country members, these, with the growing demand for municipal reform in many sections of the country, have created a spirit

of revolt and a feeling of confidence in democracy that is demanding home rule for cities and a larger control of the machinery of government in the people.

This movement is gaining in volume as well as in consciousness. It is inspired by a desire for larger activities on the part of the city, a distrust of the party leaders, and a belief that democracy can best work out its problems when government is responsible, as well as responsive, to the immediate community which it serves.

This programme of municipal home rule contemplates that the city shall be as free from the state as the state is free from the nation at large. It would relieve the municipality from state interference in all matters of purely local concern. It would divorce the locality from the interests which now animate the state in its legislation, and secure to the city the right to adopt its own charter, just as the people of the state now adopt their own constitution. It would authorize the people of a city to call a constitutional convention, made up of delegates from the several wards, with power to adopt, alter, or amend the fundamental laws of the community; to determine what powers may be exercised, as well as the means of raising and expending revenue.

This convention would work out the city's charter, fix the powers of the council and the mayor,

decide what activities should be undertaken by the city, what revenues should be raised, and how they should be collected. Such a programme, in so far as it relates to the form of charter, has already been adopted in Missouri, Colorado, California, and Washington.

In Colorado, the constitution of the state has been amended so as to create a single corporation out of the city and county of Denver. To it, as to the other communities in the state, the principle of home rule has been extended. A charter convention was held in the former city and the results of its labors submitted to the people for approval. The charter was rejected. A second charter was subsequently drawn under the power of the city "to amend its charter, or adopt a new charter, or to adopt any measure."

In Missouri, the cities of St. Louis and Kansas City have both availed themselves of the right to adopt a charter of their own devising. In the State of Washington, provision is made allowing cities of over twenty thousand population to adopt their own charters. In addition to this, "any county, city, town, or township may make and enforce within its limits all such local, police, sanitary, and other regulations as are not in conflict with general laws."

In Minnesota, eleven cities have availed themselves of the right to draft their own laws, while

in California, where similar powers are enjoyed, seventeen cities have adopted charters which have been subsequently approved by the public. Equal facility is offered the people in the making of amendments, in some instances the change being brought about through the initiative of the council.

Five states have thus far recognized the right of the city to determine its form of government. But in none of them have the cities been fully endowed with the right to determine what activities and powers shall be exercised or how their revenues shall be collected. With home rule extended to such matters the entire burden of responsibility would be shifted from the state to the city.

Under existing conditions the city cannot act as to its tenement or building laws, its parkage, its public baths, its civil service regulations; it cannot raise revenues as it will, or expend them, save as the state has ordered. The city cannot regulate the charges of the local companies for gas, electricity, or telephone service, save under authority delegated from the legislature; it cannot receive gifts, punish offenders, inspect conditions of labor in factories, cannot even pay the rate of wages that it wishes, or determine the classification or discharge of employees. Under the present system of state control, the city enjoys only such powers as the state may have granted to

it. Nor has it any rights which the state need respect. It cannot move beyond the limitations of the state law, cannot even protect itself, much less work out the solution of its own problems. All these things, large as well as small, are the subject of legislative control. The result is a series of legal limitations, designed for every event, a lowering down of responsibility, and a system of government which is wholly inelastic to the needs of those seeking reform.[1]

If our analysis of conditions has been correct, the trouble with our cities is not too much democracy, but too little democracy; not too little state supervision, but too much state supervision. We have placed our cities in strait-jackets, and then

[1] The extent of this interference of the state with the city is seen in the number of bills introduced into the New York Assembly during the session of 1905. The total number of measures presented was over 2600. Of these 170 were for the purpose of amending the charter of the City of New York; 642 affected New York City without amending its charter, while 489 were for the purpose of amending the charters of other cities in the state. Exactly one-half of the bills introduced related to local matters, as to which the general assembly could not possibly know the desires or the needs of the communities affected.

Conditions are similar in the majority of our states. The result is that the time of the legislature is almost wholly occupied with purely local legislation instead of state matters. The legislature has no means of knowing the needs or the desires of the communities affected. In consequence, such legislation is passed as the boss dictates, on some corrupt bargain between the representatives from different cities, or alliance between the rural and the city members brings about. It rarely happens that local legislation, or charter changes, are drawn in response to the real desires of the people themselves.

expected them to develop strength and character. We have deprived them of self-government, and then wondered why self-government was a failure.

Under home rule, as suggested, the city of Chicago could purchase and operate its street-railway system, construct a sewage canal, or carry out its parking system without reference to the state. The City of New York could erect an electric-lighting plant, change its police, and treat the excise and Sunday-closing questions according to the will of the community, and not according to the prejudice of the rural assemblyman. Local option, even the state-dispensary system, would be open to trial if desired by the community. Under home rule uniformity would give place to individuality, and the special legislation which now promotes log-rolling and trading in the legislature would be at an end.

Home rule would create a city republic, a new sort of sovereignty, a republic like unto those of Athens, Rome, and the mediæval Italian cities, a republic related to the state as the states are now related to the nation at large. And it is a significant thing that the great cities of the world, the cities in which the talent, pride, and energy of the people have been able to respond to its ideals, have been cities enjoying a large measure of liberty. It was freedom that inspired in these cities local love and patriotism as in no other communities the

world has seen. For a city is a conscious thing. Were it not so the results already achieved would have been impossible. It is a commonplace in the business world that American industry has reached its splendid development through just this sort of freedom, the freedom to incorporate, to organize, to do what it will without bureaucratic interference and supervision. In every realm of life the achievements of the human mind are in direct proportion to its sense of freedom, of responsibility. Just as childhood grows to strength through independence and the desire of self-achievement, so life develops in response to the burdens which freedom imposes. The same psychological motives move government. And were the responsibilities of local administration thrown down upon the shoulders of the people, unrestrained by state interference, the people would respond, and in time there would be created a sense of local patriotism which would raise the American city from its present decadence to a position of splendid achievement.

In such a city-republic the official would be close to the public which he serves. And this is to be desired, for government is efficient in direct proportion to the scrutiny of the public, whose disapproval it fears, and whose approbation and honor it delights to receive. In such a city public opinion would be free to act without that tardy

resort to the legislature that now paralyzes initiative. The effect of such a change would be to create a sense of intimacy with the city on the part of the people. The citizens would find their problems simplified. To-day the burden of reform in many cities is found in the antiquated sumptuary and excise laws passed by the state and applied to the cities. It was this that brought defeat in New York. Pledged to an honest enforcement of the laws, the Low administration was opposed and ultimately deserted by a large class of otherwise law-abiding citizens, whose foreign-bred or instinctive feelings of liberty and personal freedom were violated by a rigorous enforcement of the Sunday-closing laws. And this feeling is fundamental to many people. We cannot hope to compel the population of our cities, the majority of whom are foreign-born, to accept the earlier conception of the Sabbath upon which our state laws are based. Local reform, under present conditions, will always have this burden to carry. And the result will be a sacrifice of the substance of reform to a legislative tyranny in the realm of personal morals. Under home rule the excise question can be determined by the city, and thus eliminated from state politics. And with its elimination the elements of reform, now at odds over this issue, can join hands over larger ones of municipal and adminis-

trative betterment. The same is true of the great economic issues centring about taxation, the tenement, public ownership, and the regulation of corporate abuses. These issues are unknown to the rural districts. Conditions of life in the country are simple. In the city they are complex. And the city can only evolve a solution of these problems fitted to the evil. In this the state can offer little aid.

Moreover, with the city freed from the nation and the state, party leaders and public officials would be forced to consider their constituents, rather than the party organizations upon which they now rely for protection. No longer could the party in control in the city relieve itself from responsibility by laying the burden upon the party in control of the state. There would then come a real responsibility, a government dependent for support upon the constituency which it served.

This agitation for home rule is but part of a larger movement. It is more than a cry for charter reform; more even than a revolt against the misuse of the municipality by the legislature. It partakes of a struggle for liberty, and its aim is the enlargement of democracy and a substitution of simpler conditions of government. It is a demand on the part of the people to be trusted, and to be endowed with the privileges of which they have been dispossessed. Our cities are com-

ing to believe that local matters can be best administered by local agencies. As well try to regulate the tariff or administer colonial dependencies through one of our cities, as to attempt to regulate the city's functions, its schools, streets, fire and police departments through the state.

As to the proper delineation of state and city functions, there may be debatable ground upon which men will differ. And these activities may change from time to time. But there are certain functions whose place is naturally and readily determined. The administration of justice, the care of criminal, insane, and dangerous classes; the promotion of higher education, and highways, the surveillance of corporations, are naturally state functions, and should be administered by the state at large. But the form of the city charter, the powers of the mayor and the council, the question of whether a community should lease its streets to a private corporation or make use of them itself are matters of purely local concern. So is the method of administering the police and fire departments, the city's schools, the libraries, and health of the city. This is true of all the functions which are local in their nature. The state at large can have no more interest in such matters than it has in the methods employed by the corporations which it creates. Its credit could not be involved by home rule, nor could its officials be embar-

rassed. On the contrary, the work of the legislature would be greatly reduced, while the real functions and powers of the state would become clear.

The same is true of taxation. It is a matter of no concern to Congress whether the state raises its revenues from income or from license taxes, from real estate or from corporations. And the state has no more interest in the city than the nation has in the state. Moreover, local conditions differ. If one city sees fit to levy a tax upon land values alone, upon franchises, or upon incomes, it should be permitted to exercise its discretion.

Home rule would produce variety in municipal administration, rather than uniformity. We should thus have in every state a number of experiment stations of administration, taxation, and social betterment, each seeking a solution of its local problem and each contributing to the political experience of the country. In education the same thing is true. New York and Cincinnati have entered into the field of higher education, and maintain metropolitan colleges. The city of Cincinnati has built the Cincinnati Southern Railway to save its business interests from the tyranny of railway monopoly. New York and Boston have constructed subways and entered on an extensive development of parks, docks, recreation, and education. Variety, not uniformity, is what we need.

For we might as well try to clothe all mankind in the same size and style of clothes as to compress all cities within the same charter rubrics.

In addition to all these gains, the divorce of the municipality from the state would strike at the power of the boss. The city would then be able to divest itself of the dominion of selfish interests. No longer would the dual system which now governs the city from the state capital or Washington be able to traffic in franchise privileges, either owned by the boss or traded in by him in exchange for campaign contributions, legal retainers, or legislative bribes.

In fine, home rule is but an attempt to regain those powers which the state has assumed, but which were originally enjoyed by the local community. We still have a survival of this idea in the town meetings of New England, which are jealously guarded by the people. Home rule aims to reclaim to the city those functions of government which passed into the hands of the state at a time when the city was coming into existence, or which have been assumed by the state at the demand of the boss or the party. It would place the responsibility on those who suffer by bad or would be benefited by good government. To-day our tax rate is fixed by those who do not bear the burden, our streets are bartered away by persons who do not use them, our police, fire, and park depart-

ments are managed by legislators who know nothing of local conditions.

Along with this demand for home rule is a growing sentiment for direct legislation through the initiative and referendum. This is but a further expression of the spirit of democracy. It is a movement for government by public opinion. The referendum is being applied to an increasing extent in the matter of public borrowing; in passing upon the question of municipal ownership; in the granting of franchises; in amendments to city charters, in constitutional changes, and the like. In Oregon and South Dakota the referendum has been extended to all matters of state legislation. In all of our states it is employed in many matters. We already use it most successfully in local option on the saloon question. Chicago has recently applied it in a discriminating manner on the question of public ownership of the street railways, on the form of school administration, and for direct primaries. Colorado has invoked it in labor legislation, New York on the canal question, and many other states on matters of supreme importance. Its purpose is to democratize legislation, to enable the people to assume control of affairs, and insure responsible as well as responsive government. It provides a secure defence against corruption. For lobbyists will not buy legislation that cannot be delivered, or which is subject to veto by the people.

The referendum will reëstablish democratic forms, which have been lost through the complexity of our life, the great increase in population, the misuse of federal and state patronage, and the illegal combination of the boss with privileged interests.

The initiative carries this reform one step further on. It enables the people to originate legislation and secure an expression of opinion upon it. It involves the right of the people to demand the submission of any ordinance which may have been passed by the council to the final consideration of the public. It enables them to supervise franchise grants and any other legislation affecting their interests or their pockets. Positive movements are also open to inauguration through direct legislation. Through it tax reform, school legislation, parks, the excise question, the care of the poor and dependent classes, municipal regulation in ownership would be open to control by the popular will.

Further than this, legislation by popular opinion enables the people to discriminate as to measures. While an official's character and integrity may be respected, some measure which he supports may not be. An opportunity to initiate or vote upon measures rather than men enables the public to act without that confusion which now imposes upon the elector the necessity of accepting all of

an official's views in accepting the man himself.

A modification of direct legislation has been adopted in the city of Los Angeles, California. Under the power of the city to adopt its own charter, provision was made for the " recall " of any official distrusted by the people or one whose action is not approved by them. The law is set in motion by a petition signed by twenty-five per cent. of the voters of the ward or city. Some time after the adoption of the charter certain contracts and franchises, believed to have been corruptly awarded by the council, aroused the public to action. One of the councilmen was attacked by petition and a second election ordered. Upon this election he was defeated by a vote of two to one.

The growing demand for direct primary election laws, by which all candidates are nominated under state rather than party machinery, and by direct voting rather than through the caucus or convention, is a manifestation of the same spirit. By this plan, which is already in use in many states, the primaries of all parties are held simultaneously. Repeating is prevented, and the offences which now prevail in party organizations are checked. The citizen then comes to attend the primaries just as he now attends the election.

A much better method of nominating local officers is by petition, all party nominations being

abandoned. By such means, men will be placed in office through the activity of their neighbors. They may be retained without reference to political affiliations.

Through this means, local affairs will be divorced from those of the state and the nation. The official will be freed from the control of caucus or party organization, and his retention in office will depend upon the excellence of his service rather than the caprice, prejudice, or hostility of the party machine.

All of these movements are opposed by the party leaders. They threaten the boss, impair his control of the party machinery, and enlarge the power of the people. The opposition with which they have been met is both conscious and intelligible, for home rule will break the chain by which our cities are governed from the state capital and, to an increasing extent, from the United States Senate, while the initiative, referendum, and recall will enlarge the legislative body until it embraces all the people. It will dissolve the alliance between the boss and the privileged interests and put an end to the corruption which follows a control of the party. Direct primaries will not cure the ignorance of the voter, but they will free the game so that the popular will may express itself.

A large part of the uplift which has come to our cities in recent years is traceable to the activity

of women. Through them most of the movements which relieve the burdens of the poor have been inspired. Back of the settlement, the small park, the kindergarten, the crèche, the juvenile court, the schools, and the libraries; back of the Consumers' League, the movement for the abolition of child-labor; back of many a movement for bettering the conditions of life in home, shop, or factory, is the influence of woman. To woman the city is more than an incidental problem. It touches her in a thousand ways. No one suffers more from bad government than does she, and no one is more interested in good government. Moreover, municipal administration is a housekeeping agency. That is what the Germans call it. Its activities are social and domestic. To man the city is primarily a centre of industry. He measures it by commercial standards. He views its activities and efficiency from his office, his factory, his pecuniary interest. Woman, on the other hand, sees the city in the light of the home. The vice, the saloon, the schools, the libraries, the water, gas, and transportation questions are to her questions of the family, of the child, questions of comfort, of happiness, of safety. We should coördinate these interests, should open the ballot to her voice on these questions. Probably no single reform would mean more for the ultimate, if not the immediate, betterment of conditions than the

adding of woman's voice and counsel to the management of city affairs.

With these ends achieved, democracy will become a substance rather than a form. The boss will be shorn of much of his power. At least the responsibility for good or evil will settle down upon the public, while problems involving the industrial and social welfare of the people will be open to inauguration.

Not that this is all, not that these suggestions offer any panacea to the problems of popular government, for they are as complex as is our Protean civilization. But that such means should be offered, means that are open, familiar, and easy of application, is imperative, if we would conform the government to its traditions and render it expressive of the popular will.

CHAPTER XI

THE CITY CHARTER

For the best part of a century we have been endeavoring to secure good government by legal enactment. We have a childish confidence in paper forms. In this respect our belief in authority is almost primitive. For two generations we have been tinkering with our charters and have worked out paper systems as perfect in their adjustment as were the constitutions of the French revolutionists. Laboriously we have wrought out the most admirable laws and then left the government to run itself. This has been our greatest fault.

In the quest for relief by some royal road that does not involve labor, all sorts of nostrums have been tried. And in this pursuit we have abandoned most of our political traditions. From the simplest form of a democratic charter, with a council of large powers, we have swung to the opposite extreme and thrown ourselves into the arms of an executive possessed of almost patriarchal authority. In such recent charters as those of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltimore, and elsewhere this form prevails.

But only the public and the reformer have been

deluded by the model charter. The person against whom it was directed is not. The boss understands that government is a very human thing. And as the forms were altered he merely changed his ground. When power was shifted to the executive, he left the lobby of the council chamber and took his seat beside the mayor. In time, the same influences that organized the council controlled the executive as well. Reform does not come by such "Morrison's Pills," any more than virtue can be brought about by an act of Congress. And the boss and privileged interests are as indifferent to the means which they employ as they are to the party which they control.

But while the charter is not the main thing, it is important. In protecting the city from itself, it may be so crippled with restrictions as to limit its power for good as well. Our charters have been drawn on the assumption that all officials were to be distrusted, rather than that all officials were to be held to account. The charter should be drawn to invite efficiency, and the responsibility for its working be accepted by the public.

In the matter of charter-building we now have the experience of two-score commonwealths upon which to draw. We are as richly endowed with plans as is the architect whose models adorn the world. And we have been wisely eclectic in this matter. In adapting our forms to the ends of

administration we have manifested that common sense that characterizes the Anglo-Saxon in his business relations. This has been especially true in the more recent charters, in which a disposition has been shown to fix attention upon the end to be attained and the objects desired. We have learned that there is no sanctity about the formulas of the federal constitution, with its division of responsibility, checks and balances, and the like. The two-chambered legislature-assembly is being generally abandoned. The double chamber involves divided responsibility, with indifference on the part of the members as well as ignorance on the part of the people. Under the bicameral assembly, legislation is removed from public scrutiny in the open chamber to the secret session of a joint conference committee sitting behind closed doors. The uniform result of secrecy is log-rolling and barter and sale in legislation. In consequence the upper chamber is being generally abandoned and all legislative authority vested in a single body.

This change has been accompanied by a reduction in the size of the council. In city legislation there is neither wisdom nor safety in numbers. When the council is large, whatever honor there may be in the office of alderman is too widely distributed to invite the talent of the city.

Along with this has gone a tendency to elect the

members of the council on a general ticket. It is believed that a higher sort of ability comes forward, or is put forward by the parties, on a general ticket than on one elected by local districts. Some years ago the National Municipal League recommended in its model charter that the legislative body of the city should be single-chambered, with all of the members elected at large.

Experience has also demonstrated that a single executive of large powers, elected directly by the people, is more suited to our present needs than an excutive commission, or a mayor of the English type, chosen by the council and limited in his duties to the giving of dinners and the representation of the city on official occasions. Attention can be focussed on a single official, whereas it is difficult to follow boards, commissions, or a large council, each member of which is seeking to shift the burden of responsibility on to some one else. Our political sensitiveness is not sufficiently trained to do much more than this. But the voter can tell whether the city is dirty or clean, whether our persons and property are adequately protected, whether the spoils system prevails, whether vice has been controlled, and honesty or dishonesty characterizes the administration. With a single-headed government, we can place the finger on the sore spot and protest. We can even rebel at the polls. And political reform has progressed

but little beyond this point. We are satisfied with the patriarchal mayor, with large powers, for he is both responsible and responsive. He cannot shift the blame. And when he is given the power to appoint and remove the heads of all departments, the public can secure accountability in every branch of the service. Moreover, capable men will not be attracted to an executive office that is shorn of power. There is so little honor in public office that men will not seek it for the dignity which it offers. Men of action will not leave a professional or business career for an official position that offers no chance of achievement.

The recent American charters are much more logical than the English, where the executive as well as the legislative power is lodged in the council and the council committees. For city government is administration, not legislation. And good administration requires single-headed responsibility. Commissions, boards, or council committees do not easily get beyond the stage of discussion. A second-rate man, loaded with responsibility, is likely to prove a more efficient executive than a body of first-rate citizens whose responsibility is divided.

The city council is the weakest point of our present municipal system. There corruption breaks out, there ignorance and monopoly thrive. This

condition is partly traceable to the fact that the council is lacking in power and responsibility. It is a sort of political *vermiform appendix,* a survival whose functions have been assumed by the executive departments. Moreover, city ordinances are more like decrees than legislative acts. They are rules of conduct rendered necessary by the intimate life of the city. They relate to the public health, to the administration of the police and fire departments, to the management of markets, water works, and parks, to the building of streets and sewers, to the administration of schools, libraries, and correctional institutions. All of these are executive matters requiring special training or scientific knowledge of the work to be done.

The decay of the council has been still further promoted by the constant interference of the legislature with the city. In the majority of our states the large legislative powers of the city have been assumed by the state assembly. In consequence the council has become a registering, recording, occasionally a protesting body, the executive branch of the city being the real seat of the government. The mayor and his associates formulate the city's policy, make up the budget, distribute the city patronage, and, through the latter means, control the members of the council. And the tendency to strengthen the power of the mayor is but

a recognition of existing conditions and in harmony with the essential functions of city administration.

Such being the essential character of the city, the people should be called upon to elect as few officials as possible. A council of twenty or, at most, thirty members is sufficiently large for any city. From one-fourth to one-half of them should be elected at large. And the council, together with the mayor, comptroller, and treasurer, comprise the official personnel, which should be directly chosen by the people. All other officers, including the city solicitor, police-court magistrates, directors of public works, streets, parks, police, fire, health, and charities, should be nominated by the mayor and hold office at his will. Inasmuch as the comptroller and treasurer are designed to check and supervise the actions of the other officials, they should not be under obligations to them. Their positions should be independent and responsible to the people alone. By such a plan, all of the executive responsibility is lodged in one man. There can be no overlapping of functions, no shifting of responsibility. The mayor alone is accountable for the administration of affairs, and for this he must answer directly to the people.

Still further effectiveness, although at some loss of independence to the council, is attained by allowing the mayor and the heads of all depart-

ments a seat in the council chamber with the privilege of the floor, but not of voting. Such a provision existed in the "Federal Plan" charter in Cleveland, and is now found in the Ohio municipal code. In Chicago the mayor is the council's presiding officer, and thus enjoys this privilege. By this means the advantages of the American as well as the English cabinet system of government are secured. An easy means of criticising the administration is open to the council, while at the same time the executive department is able to work out its policy in the public discussion of the council chamber rather than through the slower process of committee conference.

In all legislation the mayor should be allowed a veto power, subject to being overruled by a two-thirds or three-fourths vote of the council. In matters affecting the budget, the veto should be of a discriminating sort. The mayor should be able to veto parts of an appropriation ordinance without vetoing the entire measure. By such a plan the council is deprived of the power of coercing the mayor into signing improvident expenditures through its ability to retaliate upon necessary appropriations.

It may be urged that such a plan reposes too much power in a single official, that through official patronage the mayor would be able to create a political machine and thus retain control of the

city. For through the right of appointment and removal the mayor would be in a position to command allegiance from all minor officials and employees, through them rule the party, its caucuses and conventions, not to speak of city elections as well. Undoubtedly this is the great danger in such a charter and a probable result of such a concentration of power. But the dangers of such control have been greatly exaggerated. They are limited almost entirely to party matters. For while the spoilsmen may dominate primaries and control them in the interest of the organization, their real influence at elections is insignificant. In the first place, the officials of the city form a relatively small proportion of the voters. They do not exceed from three to five per cent. of the electorate. And to an increasing extent, especially in the police, fire, and health departments, the employees are protected by the classified service. Probably one-third of the city employees take no more interest in elections than does the ordinary citizen. The balance of them, while influential in primaries, exercise but little power at the general election.

But the advantages from such a centralization far outweigh the evils. The boss appears under any system, whether the government be lodged with the mayor, the council, with boards, or commissions. But under a system of centralized responsibility, the boss becomes responsible. He

must come before the people for vindication. Under any other system the boss is an outside influence, responsible to no one, and inaccessible to the wrath or approval of the public. If our cities must be governed by a boss, it is most desirable that he be an elective one.

CHAPTER XII

THE COST OF THE SLUM

In England the housing problem has been termed "The Empire's Heart Disease." Her cities, which claim four-fifths of the population, have become great human warrens, crowded to suffocation, and filled with underfed human beings struggling for a place to live.[1] Her tenement evil is as bad as a plague. Its harvest of death is as constant as that of the scourge and its cost to the community is quite as great. But death is not the only cost. In the train of the tenement are epidemics, sickness, crime, vice, drunkenness, and an end to the home.

The English municipality has already appreciated some of these things. Years ago the city of Glasgow attacked the tenement problem. It razed many shacks and reconstructed a large slum area. Immediately the death rate fell to fourteen and four-tenths per thousand. In an adjoining slum the rate remained at fifty-three per thousand. The annual cost to the community from disease alone

[1] For a description of housing conditions in England see: *The People of the Abyss*, by Jack London; *The Day's Work*, by George Haw; *Britain's Homes*, by the same author; as well as Parliamentary and other reports.

had been nearly forty in the thousand. It has been asserted that the total loss from death and disease during the three years' war in South Africa did not equal the unnecessary deaths in London in a single year in the tenements.

From reliable statistics it appears that no fewer than 2,500,000 of London's population require better housing conditions. In Scotland twenty-two per cent. of the families live in single-room homes, if such they may be termed, while in Glasgow the proportion runs up to thirty-three per cent.

During the recent war in South Africa about one-half of the army candidates from London were rejected as below the military standard. In the enlistment stations in York, Sheffield, and Leeds over forty-seven per cent. were found to be physically unfit for service, while in Manchester, out of 11,000 men offering themselves for service in 1889, 8000 were reported so deficient in stamina and physical strength as to be defective.[1] These are some of the costs of the tenement, a part of the price we pay for city life. Possibly they are not wholly attributable to housing conditions, but the housing environment contributes most largely to the physical and industrial condition of England's workers. And the acts of Parliament, the efforts of private philanthropy and public activity have scarcely touched the problem. The relief thus far

[1] *Britain's Homes*, George Haw, p. 58.

offered does not even keep pace with the inrush of population from the country and the birth rate in the city. The cry of all England is for houses—houses that do not exist. For in city and country instances have been reported of workingmen in good employment who left their wives and families in the workhouse because they could find no rooms to let. Statistics could not exaggerate the description of Mr. Frederic Harrison, who confesses his own despondency over modern city life in England as follows:

"To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the present condition of industry were to be that which we behold; ninety per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country."

We are coming to appreciate these words here in America. An immense domain, with an amplitude of unoccupied resources, has not been able to protect us from the evils which haunt the older cities of Europe. The housing evil has already appeared in all of our larger cities. In some of them, competent observers say, it is already worse than it is abroad.

"I am convinced," says Mr. Robert Hunter, "that when a careful inquiry is made into the housing conditions in which those who are in poverty in this country live, they will be shown to be as bad as, if not indeed worse than, the conditions abroad, which have created great concern and been the subject of many official inquiries. . . . The overcrowding of the population on the acre in certain sections of Chicago exceeds that of the densest portions of London. In New York the conditions are three times as bad as they are in London."[1]

Nor is the problem of homes the problem of the double-decker tenement alone. This is its worst, as it is the final form. The housing problem is a problem in every large city of a quarter of a million inhabitants. It may be observed in the transition of a residence district to the slum. As the city grows in size and land increases in value, a portion of an old resi-

[1] *Poverty*, pp. 343, 344.

dence is re-rented to another family. As this process continues, the vacant area in the rear is built upon by other dwellings. In time the cellar and the attic are occupied, and the house originally designed for one family is filled with half a dozen. Here is a housing problem as pregnant of danger as is the dumb-bell tenement. Privacy is gone. Fresh air, light, pure water, decency, and proper sanitary conditions are almost as impossible as in the crowded quarters of the larger cities. This is the early form of the housing problem, and represents the slum in those cities of America which have not yet attained the metropolitan disease that afflicts New York. But that it is as fatal to life, health, and decency as is the more dreaded double-decker, is made manifest from the reports of housing investigation recently made in Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Jersey City, and elsewhere.

For the housing problem is a city problem. It is not born alone by the straitened geographical limitations of Manhattan Island or the older civilization of Europe. It makes its appearance as soon as land becomes sufficiently valuable to force an economy in space. And the intensity of the evil is in proportion to the value of the land. With increasing values the burden of rent begins to be felt, for land values respond to the city's growth. As they increase, rent for their use increases as well. True, the demand is for houses, but high

rents are not attributable to want of building materials or the cost of houses. Otherwise, rent in the cities would be no greater than in the smaller towns. The burden arises from the cost of the site and the withholding of the valuable land from proper use.

A moment's reflection will demonstrate this fact. The site values of New York City have been appraised at $3,697,686,935; those of Philadelphia at $879,259,355; those of Boston at $594,599,750.[1] Reducing this to a per capita basis, we find a burden of ground rent, figured at five per cent., of $53 per head in New York, $40 in Philadelphia, and $74.80 in Boston. In other words, the cost of a foothold, of a place to live and to work is from $200 to $375 for every individual family of five within the city limits. It is this fact that has huddled 2,372,079 of the three and one-half million people within Greater New York into tenement houses, as defined by the laws of that state. It is this value that has forced up rents in the slums. In the "new-law" tenements of New York, the rentals range from fifteen to thirty-five dollars a month. In the old tenements, from ten to fifteen dollars a month is paid for dark, dirty rooms, without light, and with water in a

[1] The values here given for New York and Boston are taken from the official tax assessments of these cities, those of Philadelphia from a Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, Washington, January, 1904.

common hallway. It is the monopoly of the land that compels the combination of several families in one flat and the destruction of any sense of home life, decency, or cleanliness. And we must shift the responsibility for all this. It is not overcrowding that causes high rents, it is high rents that cause overcrowding.

The housing problem may be followed from the country to the city. Upon the farm, ground rent is almost a negligible item, and rent is determined by the house alone. Within the city, however, the dweller must pay not only for the use of the house, but a constantly increasing fee for the privilege of occupying the land on which it stands. This fee follows him to his cottage. It pursues him to the tenement. It is the first lien upon the avenue. It cannot be escaped, and it tends constantly to grow larger. In time, the charge for the use of the land equals, if it does not exceed, the value of the house.[1] And it is the first charge upon

[1] The method of appraising land and improvements separately, which prevails in Massachusetts, graphically illustrates the fact. The appraised value of the land in 70 cities and large towns is $1,048,009,123, of the buildings $1,014,152,180, the value of the land and the buildings being about equal. The value of the land in 283 small towns was $115,605,594, while the value of the buildings was appraised at $185,782,899. In other words, the land value of 70 cities and towns was ten times the value of 283 small towns.

Another interesting fact is shown by these valuations. The land in the 33 cities is of greater value than the buildings; the land in the 37 large towns is considerably less than the value of the buildings, while the land value in the 283 small towns are only about sixty per cent. of the value of the buildings.

a man's income. As the city increases in size, the charge increases in amount. It is this fact that drives the laborer from the individual home to the flat, and from the flat to the tenement. The inexorable law of rent, formulated by Ricardo two generations ago, pursues him remorselessly, regardless of the humanity or kindness of the individual landlord. It is the increasing value of the land exempted from taxation and taken by the landlord that is slowly diminishing the living space allotted to each man within the city. It closes up the building area upon the lot, sends the tenement skyward, and cuts off access to light, air, and nature. The same influence which sends the well-to-do to the hotels and apartment houses, sends the laborer to the tenement, and the heaviest cost of city life is the price it exacts for the privilege of existing therein, whether it be in the mansion, the tenement, or the lodging house.

Here, too, is an explanation of the rapidly increasing landless citizen. The Twelfth Census gives some amazing results of an investigation into the ownership of homes in the cities of the United States of over 100,000 population. From this report it appears that of the 722,670 homes in Greater New York, but 83,052 are owned, and of these all but 35,050, or four and one-half per cent. of the total number, are mortgaged. Of the total number (722,670), over 617,000 are hired.

And of the number owned, three-fourths are outside of Manhattan and the Bronx, where the persons owning unencumbered homes are but 8948, out of a total number of 425,461.

The showing of newer cities is somewhat better, but even here the exhibit is startling enough to those who comfort themselves with the thought that America is a country of home-owning people. In Omaha, out of a total of 20,000 homes, but 3127 are owned free of encumbrances. Even here, in a city whose age scarce compasses a score of years, with the entire expanse of the West to extend upon, but one home out of seven is owned by its occupant. In many districts, tenancy is universal. In one assembly district in New York, out of 14,000 homes, only fifty-six were owned by the occupier, and of these all but fourteen were encumbered.

In the growing value of urban lands lies the cause of overcrowding and the passing of home-ownership. It explains the rise of the tenement and the passing of the home. It is not that labor will not build houses; it is not that bricks, mortar, stone, and other materials cannot be secured. It is the increasing value of a site which renders the housing problem an inevitable one in every growing city of over a quarter of a million inhabitants. We have fancied we were free from this evil in America. The wide expanse of country seemed to

safeguard us from such conditions as are now known to prevail. But recent investigations in a number of cities have demonstrated that the housing question is full upon us. It is a product of city growth, and can only be solved through some method that will open up the land to freer use. For in every community land values respond to the density of population, and it is the private enjoyment of land values that gives birth to the housing evil. There is, and can be, no other cause.

With this overcrowding go the evils of vice, sickness, and even premature death. The fruits are always the same. The *Report on Tenement Conditions in Chicago,* certain sections of which city are among the worst in the world, in speaking of the testimony given by the Royal Commission of 1884, says: " It was gathered that immorality, perverted sexuality, drunkenness, pauperism, and many forms of debauchery were caused in some instances, in others abetted, by the indecent overcrowding which existed. High death rates; a pitiful increase in infant mortality; terrible suffering among little children, scrofula and congenital diseases; ophthalmia, due to dark, ill-ventilated, overcrowded rooms; sheer exhaustion and inability to work; encouragement of infectious diseases; reducing physical stamina, and thus producing consumption and diseases arising from general

debility, were some of the evils of overcrowding."[1]

Here typhoid, tuberculosis, and other infectious diseases thrive. From these centres contagion spreads. Here sweatshop work is done, and here abounds "the scourge of consumption, which doctors and boards of health wrestle with in vain, while dying men and women 'sew on coats with their last gasp,' and sew the death warrant of the buyer into the lining."[2]

In the miserable surroundings of the tenement, appetites are diseased and the most degrading forms of poverty appear. For the tenement is the cause as well as the result of poverty. Foul air and unsanitary conditions devitalize life and drag down the worker, and in time destroy his ability to meet the competitive condition of industrial life. Exhaustion and sickness lead to dependence upon charity or recourse to the saloon. For drunkenness comes from poverty quite as much as poverty comes from drunkenness. The saloon is the only place in the district that relieves the tenement. Here are life and companionship, here is an opportunity, and the only opportunity, to escape the dirt and the crowded room that answers to the name of home. The saloon becomes "the workingman's club." Small wonder that intemper-

[1] Page 52 of Report.
[2] *The Battle with the Slum*, Jacob Riis, p. 195.

ance, the only means of escape from the fatigue of unrelieved toil, is the price that is paid. And it is a well-recognized fact that bad hygienic conditions produce a disposition to drink.

All these influences promote vice and immorality. Increase in population always brings increase in crime. "Philadelphia and Pittsburg are exceptionally good cities, but in Philadelphia there are seven times as much crime to a given population, and in Pittsburg and Allegheny City nine times as much as in the average rural county in Pennsylvania."[1] The tenement is the incubator of crime. "The younger criminals seem to come *almost exclusively* from the worst tenement districts. By far the largest part—eighty per cent. at least—of the crimes against property and against the person are perpetrated by individuals who have either lost connections with home life or never had any, or whose homes have ceased to be sufficiently separate, decent, and desirable to afford what are regarded as the ordinary wholesome influences of home and family."[2] "Leading to this vice and crime is the indecent overcrowding, with its indiscriminate mingling and close relations of the sexes, without any degree of privacy, while the dark halls and passageways, and equally dark and obscure alleys, conduce to

[1] *The Twentieth Century City*, p. 71.

[2] Opinion of Dr. Elisha Harris, Corresponding Secretary of the Prison Association of New York.

grossest immorality. Intimate association of the young with criminals of the worst class, whose haunts are found here, is the best possible training school for vicious lives. The constant example of women living in ease and luxury upon the proceeds of their immorality acts as but an incentive to young girls to follow in their footsteps. Familiarity with vice lessens the horror of it, while the physical conditions under which these people live lessen their power of resisting evil."[1]

This fact is recognized by all who come in touch with city life. The Committee of Fifteen, appointed some time ago to examine into the causes and possible remedy for the social evil in New York, make as their foremost recommendation: "First, strenuous efforts to prevent, in the tenement houses, the overcrowding which is the prolific source of immorality. The attempts to provide better housing for the poor, praiseworthy and deserving of recognition as they are, have as yet produced but a feeble impression upon existing conditions, and are but the bare beginnings of a work which should be enlarged and continued with unflagging vigor and devotion. If we wish to abate the social evil, we must attack it at its sources."[2]

Nor, as has been said before, can this exhibit of

[1] "Housing Conditions in Cleveland," Report of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, p. 37.

[2] Report, p. 173.

city life be dismissed as exceptional and limited to an occasional city or district. Conditions herein described have been found in the city of Cleveland, a city of small houses and wide general prosperity, and are presented in an exhaustive report of the Chamber of Commerce of that city. The tenement is an incident, an inevitable incident, of the increase of city population. With the growth of the city the tenement tends to become more and more universal and to gather to itself an increasing percentage of the city's population. The law of demand and supply determines this fact. The growth of apartment houses demonstrates it. The substitution of closely-built blocks for the spacious residence of the smaller city is but another expression of the same necessity. And this tendency of land to increase in value seems to know no limit. In some parts of Philadelphia, as elsewhere appears,[1] land values leaped up one hundred per cent. in fifteen years. In Boston there was an increase of eighteen per cent. in five years. In New York City it has led to the rack-renting of tenants, until, in the spring of 1904, an organized resistance on the part of the East Side dwellers was the result.

Wherein lies the remedy? For a continuation of present conditions can only mean a decay in citizenship, a loss of life, a spread of disease, vice,

[1] Bulletin of Bureau of Labor, Washington, January, 1904.

and crime, which in Great Britain, where conditions are more similar to those of America than in any country of Europe, have already reached such a condition as to threaten the physical and moral life of the nation.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY'S HOMES

The remedies thus far proposed for the destruction of the slum have scarce touched the problem. And at best they are but palliatives. The English cities have done much. Immense areas of land have been razed of tenements and model homes erected. In many instances they were immediately filled with artisans, clerks, and those already fairly well provided for. Private philanthropy has also undertaken the erection of model dwellings and the betterment of sanitary conditions in London, New York, and elsewhere, only to report that unnumbered thousands were as yet unreached. Private philanthropy cannot solve the problem, for splendid as its achievements are, the evil outruns this remedy.

Aside from private efforts, three policies of public relief have been advocated. One is the passage of stringent building laws and the enforcement of severe limitations upon landlords as to air space, plumbing, and sanitary conditions. Such legislation has been enacted in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and probably elsewhere. The latter city recently enacted a model building code.

By the provisions of these laws the character of construction is supervised, overcrowding is prohibited, and adequate air space ensured by limiting the amount of land which may be built upon. Such regulations, if rigorously enforced, will improve sanitary surroundings, and will do much good, but they will not reduce rents. And it is high rents, and the withholding of land from use, that produce overcrowding.

When it is considered that such limitations are demanded as a means of protection from the dangers of disease, contagion, crime, and the like, the solicitude heretofore shown the landlord seems hardly warranted. The law prohibits nuisances and denies to the individual the right to use his property in such a way as to endanger life. We do not permit the sale of impure food, however profitable it may be to the dealer, nor allow the use of property for improper or immoral purposes. Similar considerations make it reasonable to insist that the landlord be restrained in the improper use of his property.

A still further means of relief lies in cheap and rapid transit to the country. In Glasgow much has been done in this direction. In that city all the means of transit are owned by the community. By means of such ownership a portion of the slum population has been dispersed to suburban sites through cheap fares and rapid transit. Such

means of relief have long been applied in Germany. And unquestionably much will be done in this direction in the future in America.

Were the City of New York to manifest as much interest in its two and one-half millions of slumdom as it does in its shipping; were it to take up the problem of human life as seriously as it has taken up the building of docks; were other cities to manifest as much concern for their tenement dwellers as they do on other matters, the problem of housing would be open to speedy correction. For the open fields about the city are inviting occupancy, and there the homes of the future will surely be. The city proper will not remain the permanent home of the people. Population must be dispersed. The great cities of Australia are spread out into the suburbs in a splendid way. For miles about are broad roads, with small houses, gardens, and an opportunity for touch with the freer, sweeter life which the country offers.

This is only possible by designing new means of transit. For men must have easy access to their work. To meet this need will involve subways and tunnels, rapid transit and municipal farsightedness. Such a programme cannot be left to the free play of private initiative, for it is a matter of supreme public concern. A conscious housing policy is one of the pressing obligations of city

administration, just as is the supply of water, gas, electricity, police, and fire protection. We cannot rely upon the free play of competitive forces, for private agencies now have no pecuniary interests in such a problem.

As we have seen, it is the high rents and a lack of houses that cause overcrowding and create the housing evil. The great mass of urban dwellers are tenants, not owners, and the tenement-evil can, therefore, only be reached through the landlords. For the city dweller is too poor to own land. Improved building and sanitary laws will not reduce rents. As a matter of fact, they will raise them. Rapid suburban transit will do something. But its immediate effect will be to increase the value of land in the suburbs, which will respond to its greater availability for building purposes.

Ultimate relief, therefore, whether in the city or the suburb, can only be secured through a reduction of rents and an increase in housing facilities. Anything which increases the number of houses will accomplish this end through the law of demand and supply. This, it is believed, would be achieved through the taxation of land values, and the abandonment of all rates upon buildings and improvements. To many this will seem an inadequate measure. Taxation does not seem equal to such a substantial reform. But it has been urged in New York. It is confidently offered as a solu-

tion in Great Britain, while somewhat similar measures have been adopted in Germany. Some of the reasons for such a change in our taxing machinery will be found in other chapters, entitled "The City's Treasure" and "The Revenues of the City."

Its immediate effect would be a stimulus to building. It would at once increase the house supply. It would encourage improvements which would then go untaxed. Moreover, it would force land now lying idle into productive use. It would encourage the honorable and punish the slum landlord. It would place a premium upon the model tenement and a penalty on the shack. Under present methods we reverse these influences and punish by increased taxation the owner who erects a model dwelling, while he who maintains a slum tenement finds his taxes reduced by so doing. Every bathroom that is installed, every fire escape added, every improvement in comfort, sanitation, and the like, is met by society with a penalty. History records how, in ancient France, the window tax resulted in the boarding up of houses and the closing of the peasant's cottage to the sunlight and air. We now recognize the absurdity of such a method of raising revenue. But our present system is, in all respects, similar. The bad tenement is at a premium, while the good tenement is burdened by the community because of its goodness.

Through the concentration of all taxes upon the land, idle holdings would come into the market. The owner could no longer hold them for speculation. The inevitable result would be a stimulus to building, which would, in turn, increase the tenements seeking tenants, and thus bring about a reduction in rents. Moreover, the cost of house materials would be reduced to the extent of the taxes removed. This would still further reduce rents. Buildings would then be a profitable thing to own, unimproved land a burden. New tenements would be erected. Soon landlords would compete for tenants, instead of tenants competing for landlords. This would lead to improvements of all sorts, just as the erection of modern office buildings and apartment houses has led to competition in conveniences for the well-to-do classes.

To-day in every big city, even in such crowded centres as New York and Boston, large areas of land are held out of use, just as the trust holds its mines and mills out of operation, or the cotton-grower destroys a portion of the crop to increase the price of the balance. How extensive this withholding is may be seen in any city. From the testimony given before a Congressional Committee in 1883, it appeared that one-half of Manhattan Island was then vacant and a large proportion of the balance was badly improved. We see the

effect of taxation upon urban development in the English city. London is irregular and filled with antiquated buildings, unsuited for modern purposes. All of the municipalities exhibit the same condition. The cause is found in the practical exemption of urban land from local taxation. Taxes are measured by the annual rental value of a structure. If vacant, it pays no direct taxes at all. If badly improved, even though in the heart of the city, its taxes are determined by the rental value of the property. In consequence a premium is placed on vacant land, or the tumble-down tenement. The owner can improve it at his pleasure. There is no stimulus to enterprise, no encouragement to effort. The result is apparent in the English city, which is the worst built in all Europe.

Were the burden of taxation shifted from the rental of the house to the land alone, a stimulus to building would result, while the broad acres lying just beyond the city, which are practically exempt from taxation, would be opened up to the use of the people, now huddled within the tenements.

This principle has been recognized in the city of Toronto, where a movement has been started through direct legislation to exempt $700 of the value of the house from taxation. The avowed purpose of this legislation was to stimulate house-ownership and the erection of small homes. In

Manitoba, likewise, the houses, barns, and improvements are exempted from taxation, the local rate being all assessed against the land. This was designed to prevent land speculation, and the building up of immense estates, such as exist in the American West. When one considers the increase in tenantry, all over the United States, not to speak of the very general exemption of great wealth from taxation, the adoption of some means which will check the one and equalize the other seems demanded by every consideration of expediency and justice.

Statistics show that the increase in urban land values is often from five to ten per cent. per year, enough of an increase to warrant the landlord to sit idly by and permit society to bring his land into use. In New York a recent increase of twenty per cent. in the tax rate doubled the number of houses erected, according to the testimony of builders. Such a result inevitably follows, for an increase in the taxation of land would render it unprofitable to hold land vacant, and profitable to bring it into use. Landlords would then erect model tenements from necessity, rather than from philanthropy. The pressure of taxation would necessitate this.

Moreover, the throwing of the burden of taxation on to the land would reduce rents, just as the taxation of houses increases them. For a tax upon

the house is borne by the tenant, while a tax upon the land falls upon the shoulders of the landlord. Nothing is better established in political economy than that the land tax cannot be shifted; it remains where it falls. It simply reduces the unearned increment of the landlord. Taxes upon improvements, on the other hand, increase the cost of the buildings, and to that extent are shifted to the occupier.

Further than this, such a policy of housing reform is automatic in its operation. It enforces itself. It operates as does the law of competition in the business world. It requires no supervision by the city, no regulation by the state. But the forcing of all land within the city into use, and its most productive use, will lead to competition on the part of the landlords for tenants just as the pressure of business leads to competition in the business world for buyers. Where such a condition prevails, the shack will come down, the unsanitary tenement will disappear, just as have the older office buildings which could not retain their tenants in the face of the newer ones which have recently been erected.

This reform calls the self-interest of man to the aid of the government. It compels man to work for society, rather than against it. It seeks to give to each the result of his labors, but not the result of the labors of others. It would correct

the monopoly of land within the city by compelling the speculator to pay for his speculation, or use the lands which he holds as society requires.

This is the simplest, as it is the most effective cure of the tenement. It operates by a natural law of self-interest. Self-interest to-day produces the slum and the tenement. Were improvements relieved from taxation, and the burden thrown down upon the land alone, the same self-interest would bring down the tenement and fill the vacant land of the city with inviting homes.

Such a change could be inaugurated in any city by a law or ordinance exempting all improvements and personal property from taxation. No further legislation would be needed. The burden of taxation would settle immediately to the land. The pressure of necessity would then bring down the shack and send up a new dwelling. The same influence would be operative on the owner of vacant land. No longer could land be held out of use without great loss.

It is probable that the housing problem must become very much worse before it will become much better. And yet it already is the problem of the city, just as the city is the problem of our civilization. For the home is the basis of our citizenship, as it is of all moral and physical well-being. That the home should be sound is more important than that the schools be adequate, the

police efficient, or the streets free from dirt. The tenement has already become so pressing an evil, in a half-dozen of our cities at least, that it cannot be longer ignored or treated in a temporizing way. It is a sort of social gangrene, which devitalizes life, saps the physical and moral vigor of a city, and indirectly produces many other evils which can only be corrected by going back to the source. For bad housing not only affects the physical stamina of men, it destroys womanhood, invites to prostitution, and encourages vice. From it crime emerges, filling our jails, reformatories, and prisons. Here the saloon and the low resort thrive, while disease spawns its frightful record of mortality.

The problem of the city home is a problem of humanity. Yet so solicitous are we for property that we subordinate all other considerations to it. For the housing problem is an economic one. It cannot be solved by an appeal to personal morality or goodness. And only by cutting out the underlying causes of overcrowding, and encouraging building, can any relief be found for conditions which, in recent years, have destroyed the earlier traditions of life in Amerca. Cheap rents and better homes can only come through competition, either the competition of the suburb or the competition of the urban landlord. Anything which increases the number of homes will aid in the cor-

rection of the evil, and rapid access to the country and the taxation of land values alone can bring this about. Were our solicitude for human life as great as is our concern for property rights, these reforms would be easier of adoption.

How easily this could be achieved; how little of injustice it would produce; how generous the city has ever been to the landlord, and how much the landlord is indebted to society in return, will appear in the chapter entitled "The City's Treasure."

CHAPTER XIV

THE CITY'S WRECKAGE

Only in rare instances do men purposely adopt a life of crime. Occasionally a case is recorded of one whose instincts have led him into conflict with society. But these instances are abnormal. We have recognized this fact in theory and no longer justify criminal administration on the ground of punishment. The *lex talionis* has happily passed away as our justification of the penal code. But while the growing humanity of mankind has relieved the theory of the law, the methods remain but little changed. Not only do the hideous prison garb, the shaved head, and the lock-step still persist, along with solitary confinement and the bad environment of the penitentiary, but the traditional feeling of the official and the public towards those who have offended the law remains that of an earlier age.

Penal science has made great progress in recent years; but, prison administration remains almost content with the abolition of torture and physical pain. The system still destroys self-respect, enfeebles the mind, and wrecks the body. So far as protection is concerned, we have made but little

progress, even though the harsher punishments have been banished and the reform school has come in.

Nor have we officially recognized that the cause of vice and crime is largely industrial or accidental. Every large city is filled with men and women who have left the country in search of work. Hard times have driven them to the streets empty-handed, longing for work, a kind word, or a sympathetic touch which is nowhere to be found. With the loss of employment goes loss of self-respect; and with vanishing self-respect goes ability to withstand temptation. Soon companionship is gone, for the standards in life's game are the same in the mill as in the club, in the saloon as in the church. Industrial necessity soon brings the order to move on. It may come from the landlord or the policeman. From this the shift is easy to trampdom or involuntary vagrancy. Here the cycle begins.

In the eyes of the law, a man without a job is a vagrant or a suspicious person. We arrest for poverty, call it vagrancy, and punish for inability to pay the fine. This is imprisonment for debt, which leaves its brand on the heart as on the reputation, for no one will employ a convict or associate with him. And no one will take the trouble to investigate the cause of arrest, when hundreds are ready at hand free from this scar.

When the term of imprisonment expires, again the streets, again the round from shop to shop, again the lodging house, the saloon, and the chance acquaintance, but this time without credentials or friends. The man is known to the police. Too soon the charge of vagrancy is again made or some petty misdemeanor is committed. Then the cumulative sentence is imposed on an old offender. A second conviction extinguishes the last sparks of self-respect. The final stand has been made. Then some more serious offence, with the penitentiary, follows. In time, its doors close upon the man forever. One needs but to read *The Confessions of a Thief,* or spend a day in a workhouse or a penitentiary, to be convinced that the chance of an orderly life is closed to him on whom the long arm of punishment has once affixed its hold.

With the juvenile offender the cycle is the same, only our inhumanity is here even more apparent. Observe the life of the child in the crowded city districts. The home is a one-, two-, at most a three-room tenement, where all the functions of life are performed. Stifling in winter as well as in summer, crowded with both sexes and often with lodgers as well, the home becomes a thing to be escaped from. The street is the playground, the saloon the objective point, the variety show and dance hall the goal of desire. Neglected by parents, whom necessity sends forth to labor at dawn

and recalls weary to rest at nightfall, the energy of the boy finds its outlet where it may. The street gang appears to meet this need. It is the only social organization at a time when society is most desired. Some petty offence is carelessly committed. Possibly it is a fight or an insult to an officer, possibly one of the hundred things that boys have ever done. Then comes the police court, a night or two in the " bull pen " with those more hardened than himself. This experience wins a sort of distinction with the gang. A repetition of the offence follows, and the ill will of the police attaches to the boy. Then comes the reformatory and the workhouse. The weary cycle to the penitentiary has begun. Up to very recently the city offered nothing as an alternative to this condition. Even the grass in the parks was sacred from contact with humankind. The churches do not seek the poor, even could they reach them. And here, as with the adult, the explanation is at bottom industrial, for the juvenile offenders are rarely such through instinct or choice. Their offence is one of neglect by the family and by the city as well.

If civilization is indifferent to the boy and the man, it is cruel to the girl and the woman. To them industry is largely closed. In those avenues of employment which are open, wages are low, while in the department store, shops, and factories, it is

often adjusted to a basis that will not sustain life. Our industrial system does not treat the woman wage-earner as self-supporting. And in thousands of instances she is not. Her wage is but supplementary to that of the male member of the family. From a report of the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics it appears that the average wages of women workers in the cities of Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati were but $4.83 a week. Their average expenses were $5.24.[1] And if perchance they are dependent upon themselves, as millions of women are, there is no other alternative, and to many women the only alternative, even though it be coupled with a loss which they can never regain. When this alternative is chosen, society rigorously enforces the penalty.

But how ungenerous is our philosophy. The political and social code of our cities insists that the social evil is as old as the world and an incident of organized civilization. And no serious attempt is made to eradicate it. If this be our attitude, then how does the unfortunate woman differ from the soldier who goes to the front? Her we pursue, publicly arraign in her shame, punish with a fine or a workhouse sentence, and in so doing render escape from shame impossible. For she can only pay the fine and regain her liberty by falling still lower.

[1] Annual Report for 1901, p. 502.

Not only do we do these things, but we periodically levy tribute upon the social evil and from the proceeds of woman's misfortune we replenish the city treasury and carry on the functions of government. Further than this, the fees of policemen, clerks, and other officials are supplemented from such raids. In this way we incite to the offence we condemn, for a fine can only be paid from further resort to the offence which we punish. Moreover, fees to officials are an incentive to vigilance, a premium upon police activity. Nothing in our criminal procedure is more barbarous than the raiding of unfortunate women and their punishment by periodic fines as a means of revenue. It is a shame upon a city to derive one dollar of income in this way. It is the worst of bad politics to place in the hands of a police officer the power of levying blackmail or to tempt the official with court fees to increase his income by the vigor of his administration.

In these respects our criminal law is a survival. It exposes the unfortunate, the child, the aged, and the helpless as did the Spartans of old. Science has contributed of her genius, and public and private philanthropy has given without stint to the relief of the sick, the maimed, the halt, and the blind. But our attitude towards the mental and moral wreckage of the community is in a state of arrested development. Christian charity

seems to have stopped short of these classes in its humanizing progress. Our attitude towards those who have offended against conventional morality is out of harmony with the teachings of twentieth-century Christianity.

While our police and criminal expenditure is constantly growing, in offering help, work, in relieving the severity of industrial life we have spent scarcely a cent. Modern reformatories are to be found in many Northern cities. And their record is of a splendid sort. Here and there, as in Chicago, Boston, Washington, and Syracuse, the municipal lodging house has superseded the private warren that housed the vagrant class. But the kindly hand of Christian humanity has only lately been extended to the boy and the girl, it has not yet reached to the tramp, the occasional offender, the vagabond, or the prostitute. Organized society has ignored whatever interests they have, except to punish their misfortunes. In our apotheosis of success, we have added to failure the heavy hand of public punishment. So impatient are we of this wreckage, this by-product of society, that is neglected as not worth saving. In this process we do not even discriminate. The same cell that houses the vagrant and the common drunk, the child of tender years and the prostitute, is the home of the hardened criminal as well.

We canonize success and penalize failure. The unsuccessful, the vagrant, those who do not catch on, have to pay a heavy penalty for their failure. While philanthropy has trained its highest talent to alleviate the suffering and extend the lives of those who are physically unfit; while laboratories have been established and hospitals founded; while science has exhausted itself, and private and public agencies coöperate to provide for the physically weak and unfortunate; while our cities maintain health departments and similar institutions to check disease at its source, to prevent its spread, and to reduce the death rate a fraction of a per cent. a thousand; while charity organizations, humane societies, and hospitals abound, and millions are annually expended to save the physically unfit, and to alleviate their sufferings—humanity stops here. An examination of the municipal budget finds scarce a dollar expended to protect and provide against the beginning of vice and crime. We make no effort to save self-respect before it is irretrievably lost.

An expenditure of one-half the money and energy on the care and reclamation of the youth, the vagrant, and the poor, that is now expended on the detection and punishment of crime, would materially reduce the evil of the coming generation as well as lessen the fiscal burden of the community.

The City of New York expends eleven millions

annually on its police department, sixteen millions on its schools, and two millions on its parks, libraries, and art museums.[1] For the conscious anticipation of crime, for the prevention of misdemeanors by way of proper measures, the expenditure is comparatively insignificant. Excepting the parks, playgrounds, and recreation piers, little is done by the great metropolis that spends three and one-half dollars per head to protect its people and punish its unfortunates, to render such punishments unnecessary. And yet in 1900 more than 80,000 of the 133,000 arrests in the City of New York were for drunkenness, disturbing the peace, and vagrancy (drag-net charges for all offences which the police cannot otherwise define). Three-fifths of all the offences for which arrests were made involved no moral turpitude, no wilful injury to others. Yet the criminal law casts all these offenders into the same category, and in so doing stimulates the conditions we seek to prevent. In the same year the arrests for homicide, housebreaking, and larceny, which include the great majority of the criminal offences, were but 12,363, or about eleven per cent of the total.

Were the health department of a great city confronted with a sick list involving one person out of every twenty-seven (which are the statistics

[1] Bulletin of Bureau of Labor, Washington. Statistics of Municipal Revenue and Expenditure for 1900 and 1901.

of arrest in New York), and were the public authorities convinced that a large part of this disease was traceable to impure water, to bad sanitation, to dirty streets, the energy of the city would be forthwith directed to locate the cause. Yet such an analogy is true of the offences in a great city. For out of the 80,000 arrests for petty misdemeanors to-day a preponderating portion of those subsequently arrested for felonious offences will come. Vagrancy, drunkenness, or some petty offence is the usual apprenticeship to a graver crime.

Despite the theories of modern penology, our methods involve the infliction of punishment rather than the improvement of the offender. The spirit of our administration encourages the crime we seek to remove. We have not gotten very far away from the Elizabethan poor laws. The man who has been picked up for some minor offence returns to society not a suspect but a convicted criminal. The police gather the boy off the street whose offence is some infraction of good morals or a petty misdemeanor. He comes back from contact with the law with a heightened knowledge of evil and a glamour among his fellows born of experience with the world.

The man so taken from his family is forced to leave them to their own devices. Hunger, want, and eviction may follow. They are likely to be-

come wards of the city, to receive outdoor relief, or to pass on to the almshouse. For some such offence as intoxication, the state punishes the man, while the wife suffers in poverty along with her abandoned children.

This cycle from loss of work to a life of crime is easily calculable. The criminal courts are kept busy by the police courts, while the penitentiaries are recruited from the workhouses. The jails and police stations are filled with those arrested as suspicious characters; disorderly men and women and the ignorant and foreign poor. The code is the same for vagrancy and petty larceny; for violation of the Sunday laws and assault and battery; for prostitution and a criminal offence. In the eyes of the law, poverty, misfortune, vice, and crime are of the same family. It is a misdemeanor to be found destitute upon the streets, a misdemeanor which in many instances is but one of the consequences of the shifting of industry, hard times, and irregular employment. Those arrested for such offences are punished by fine or imprisonment. Their poverty is not only an offence, it involves imprisonment for debt. It is a misdemeanor to be an unfortunate woman, even while the public authorities assure the community that the social evil is as old as civilization, and cannot be eradicated by an enforcement of the law.

These problems cannot be adequately treated

until we amend our point of view and learn that this wreckage is one of the prices of our present industrial system. The uncertainty of employment, the introduction of machinery, the flood of immigration, the underpaid factory and shop girl, all these create a by-product, a social cull. To say that men and women voluntarily choose a life of shame in preference to a life of self-respect is contrary to the experience of all. I am not speaking now of the congenital or hereditary criminal, but of those whose offences are of the minor kind, those whom society indiscriminately casts with the criminal, because they are unsuccessful in maintaining the current standard of life and morals. There is no more cruel offence by the individual than that committed by society against the weak. There is no torture of the mediæval code more pagan than the unnecessary destruction of self-respect by our jail and penal institutions or the brand that is placed on the forehead of the juvenile offender.

Our civilization is based on a solidarity of interests. We justify the extinction of the small producer by the trust as a social sacrifice. We call upon the workman, who sees the trade he has spent a lifetime in mastering, rendered worthless by the introduction of a new machine, to accept the sacrifice because of the industrial efficiency which follows. But we refuse to bear the burden

of society's gain. On the contrary, we punish him who has made the sacrifice with a felon's cell.

Men and women suffer most in mind. It is not the chain which hurts; it is the loss of place in society. The punishment does not deter; it may in time attract. The prison may cease to be a place of horror. It becomes the only place to return to. In this way punishment often incites to crime. In any event it destroys self-respect and leaves man without an anchorage. The prisoner carries through life the consciousness that he is not a member of society. He has become a criminal. If he fails to secure work he attributes it to this cause. If he does not succeed he sees the cause of failure in his shame. The world has its hand against him; the only place where he has not lost caste, where he enjoys respect, or at least is free from satire, is among the men and women he has left behind him. Many a man seeks refuge in the workhouse for comfort, for society, to regain the respect of the lowliest of his fellow beings.

CHAPTER XV

THE WARDS OF THE CITY

Here and there are signs of an awakening to these facts. We are beginning to treat the problem of wreckage by anticipation at its source. The Probation Court, with its humane officials, is caring for the juvenile offender. Such courts have already come into existence in many of the Northern cities. Through this agency, thousands of boys and girls are cared for with kindness, and helped into new channels in harmony with the life about them. By such means truancy and petty offences are being corrected and the boy inspired by a belief that some one is interested in his welfare.

The awakening sense of at least one city has carried this movement a step farther on. The city of Cleveland has acquired a large farm, upon which it has erected comfortable cottages for the training and care of juvenile offenders. Helpful teachers have taken the place of prison wardens; attractive homes, in no sense suggestive of prison institutions, have superseded the jail-like barracks of former reformatories. Here are committed

the more difficult youngsters, who cannot be handled through the ordinary agencies of the Probation Court, working in harmony with the home. At this farm-school no brand attaches; it leaves no scar and saves self-respect. A sound body is made ready for a sound mind through healthful sport and healthful labor. Recreation is linked with study and an *esprit de corps* is created and a sense of affection for the institution. This marks the most advanced step yet taken by the public in the treatment of the juvenile offender. Through this agency and the Probation Court, the budding crop of crime of the next decade will be largely diminished, at great saving to life and character, as well as to the purse of the community.

In many of our cities the kindergarten, the small park, the playground, the gymnasium, and the social settlement, with here and there other agencies, are breaking into the blackness of the slum and organizing the work, play, and energy of the neglected masses. Already the results of these agencies may be measured. Order and self-respect have supplanted disorder and neglect. The gang is being superseded by the club, and organized social interests for the irregular life of the street and the saloon. Through these agencies the child, who heretofore knew no touch but that of the policeman's club and felt organized society only

in the cell of the police station, is gaining a sense of self-respect and a hope for better things. We are finding that vice and crime do not propagate themselves so rapidly in competition with these things and that with every opportunity offered there is a greedy desire for a better life.

This salvage process is being undertaken in Chicago on a broad and comprehensive scale. Aside from the general park system, which the city has developed, an attempt is being made to project opportunity for recreation and play into the heart of the slum districts by the opening up of twenty-eight socialized parks, summer and winter playgrounds. These are equipped for the young and the old, the women as well as the men. Two million five hundred thousand dollars in bonds have been sold for this purpose and an annual appropriation of $12,000 has been set aside for the maintenance of each park. This means an initial outlay for each playground of nearly $90,000. The city has employed architects and social engineers to carry out the idea and has undertaken the relief of her huddled humanity in the same big, courageous way that she has done many other seemingly impossible things. Chicago intends to let daylight, nature, and happiness into the slums.

In detail these parks are to be depressed some feet below the surrounding streets, so as to be flooded in winter for skating. Swings, recreation

apparatus, sand piles, and wading ponds invite the children, while big swimming pools, attractive lawns, music, and rest attract the boys and the girls, the women as well as the men. Here the saloon will find competition, while in winter the public gymnasium, with opportunity for physical culture, with assembly, reading and game rooms, will offer an opportunity for some rational recreation to the producers of wealth, who have made the city great. A chance will be offered to live a freer, sweeter existence, to work and care for the city, which, aside from Boston, has taken the first big step in the care of its people. For these social parks are but social settlements maintained by the city. They satisfy an imperative need, urgent as the hospital, the church, or the park. They are an enlargement of the school, and form an attempt to care for those classes whose present knowledge of the city is only gained through the policeman, the lodging house, the hospital, and the health department.

In New York City a similar policy is being worked out. Along with a number of playgrounds in the crowded districts, five recreation piers upon the North and East Rivers have been constructed. Nine public baths, a score of vacation playgrounds, and a dozen roof playgrounds in connection with the public-school buildings have been opened. Here music, sport, dancing, singing, and recrea-

tion of all kinds are offered to the poor. Along with these, the schoolrooms, gymnasiums, and basements have been opened in the evenings for the use of the neighborhood. Men and women have eagerly availed themselves of these opportunities, which involve but little cost to the city. More than one million people made use of them in 1903. Game-rooms and libraries have been opened. The gymnasium is widely used, while military drills and exercises engage the interest of the youth. In the summer, vacation schools are opened to care for those who would otherwise be upon the street, while nature-study, art work, mechanical occupations, domestic science, and needle-work are being taught as supplementary to the regular school curriculum.[1]

It is difficult to exaggerate the effect of these new opportunities upon the life of the people. Moreover, this development is but in its infancy, for it has all come about in a very few years. Through such agencies as these the budding crop of vice and crime can be checked at its source. By these means healthier bodies will be developed

[1] An examination of the Fifth Annual Report of the city superintendent of schools in New York gives a full account of this work. It is most inspiring reading. The statistics show the average daily use of the vacation playgrounds to be from 150 to 1500, the average of all being about 500; of roof playgrounds to be about 2000; of piers about 200; of evening recreation centres in the public schools about 300.

along with healthier minds, while, for those who do fall under the arm of the law, the Juvenile Court, with its probation officers and farm-schools, will offer a helping hand.

Shall society stop with the boy and the girl? Is our obligation paid when opportunity has been enlarged for the children? Or shall this growing discrimination be carried still further, and the weak, the poor, and the unfortunate be separated from the criminal and given a chance? Can society discriminate and make its punishment fit the crime, or must the vagrant, the drunkard, the prostitute pay the penalty of their misfortune?

Such a change of programme would involve a new attitude of mind and a new spirit in our correctional administration. In connection with every police station there should be a lodging house, where persons apprehended for drunkenness, suspicion, vagrancy, and the like might be taken, to be later released without punishment except in aggravated instances. The great mass of cases which clog the police-court docket involve no criminal aggression and no malicious motive. Such cases should be disposed of without cost to the offender or burden to the community. They should be treated much as the hospital cares for those suffering from disease. The offender should be housed for the night, sent home, given work, if

work is needed, or treatment such as is offered in the public dispensary.

The entire police administration of a city might, with advantage, be altered. At present its motive is the single one of punishment. In this the police but reflect the attitude of the community, for the efficiency of the force is gauged by the number of its arrests. A capable superintendent is measured by military standards. Even the most honest department is inspired by a belief that it should inflict as much hurt as possible. How much better it would be if the police superintendent were a man of humane instincts; animated by a desire to help those in need of assistance. One sees something of this spirit in the London policeman. He is courteous and ever ready to assist those in need of direction. Were the spirit of the Juvenile Court, of the probation or truant officer carried into police administration, the help which could be extended to the struggling classes would be immeasurable in its possibilities. Were we to turn the entire body of police into ministering officials, like those sent out by the Humane Society, more could be done for the aid of the city's unfortunates than is accomplished through their attempted punishment. Such a revolution could only be brought about through a masterful man like Colonel Waring. But with such a change inaugurated, with the police force animated by a sense of kindliness,

much could be done towards the suppression of vice and crime by showing means and methods of avoiding it.[1]

But as the problem of the city's wreckage is largely industrial, so it can only be ultimately treated on industrial lines. It can only be solved through a readjustment of our ideas and methods, by which opportunity will be enlarged and the dependence of the wage-earner upon conditions which he cannot control will be diminished. Much can be done by offering some sort of dignified work as a reserve for the helpless. An industrial workshop or farm should be substituted for the poorhouse, and the payment of industrial wages instead of keep. By this means self-respect will be preserved, while physical health is being restored. Some such opportunity is demanded as

[1] "Many of those who knew Toledo's 'Golden Rule' Mayor, Samuel M. Jones, will remember how he sought to make of Toledo's police force a power not only for the prevention of crime, but devoted earnestly to helping the community in positive ways, assisting the people in efforts to make their neighborhood a safer and better one to live in, cleaner, more sanitary, more neighborly and mutually helpful. The mayor had a high ideal of the police officer's relation to the rest of the people, and during his administration succeeded in imbuing the force with much of his spirit. A recent consular report gives an interesting account of how the city of Birmingham, England, trains its police officers to render more than perfunctory service in cases of accident. We look for the day when our cities shall not only require their policemen, but give them the privilege—in which we believe they would find no small measure of satisfaction—to make themselves more useful to the people in ways that are at once humanitarian and conducive to general welfare."—*The Commons* (Chicago), July, 1905, p. 425.

compensation to those who stand ready to carry on the industry of the city. They should not bear the whole burden of industrial disturbance, of hard times, and irregular employment. Moreover, human life is too sacred a thing to be permitted to perish with only the alternative of charity. There is such a thing as a right to labor, a right to employ God-given energy upon the boundless resources of the country. He who will work but cannot find it should not be forced to the alternative of vagrancy or outdoor relief. And as the great bulk of those who are ultimately engulfed in poverty and crime are drawn thither by industrial causes, we should not be deterred in the search for relief by the hostile cry of socialism, raised by those who find even the kindergarten, playground, or public bath-house a basis for such a complaint.

A like opportunity should be offered the outcast woman, a chance to reclaim herself. To-day there is none. Her offence, too, is largely industrial. It is traceable to lack of work or underpaid work; to hard times or unfair burdens. Her wage is admittedly adjusted below the cost of living, and when accident renders her dependent upon her own toil the alternative offered is not pleasant to think about. She is the saddest sacrifice of our industrial system; the most cruel cost of town disease. And nowhere is the heartlessness of our

city civilization so manifest as it is towards her. She is the prey of the police and the police courts. No one has made her cause his own. In many cities periodical assessments, either as private graft or public revenue, are imposed upon her. In other cities she is subjected to raids and public arraignment in the police court. Her punishment is fine or imprisonment. After working out her imprisonment she is confronted with the alternative of sixty days more in the workhouse, or returning to the offence for which she was convicted in order to earn enough to pay the fine. The city offers no other alternative. Twentieth-century Christianity, which halts at no expenditure for war, expends not a farthing for the help of this class. The evil stands alone, and is unrelieved by public or private action. For those who enter such a life there is no retreat. They leave hope behind. The police court, the workhouse or fine, but increases the mortgage on her soul. If we are consistent in our theory, then the vicarious sacrifice exacted of womankind should be relieved as much as possible and every avenue opened for retreat. This can only be done by the establishment of some sort of home and workshop, a place dependent upon no private charity and inspired by humane considerations and intelligent adaptation to woman's industry. In such a home the door should be open to all. Here work should be

offered and with it a chance for a respectable life.

Probably the most difficult burden upon the city is that of salvage, of how to shift the sacrifice of those who have not been able to catch on, of those who are weak, of those who have failed, so that they will not bear the whole cost of it. For modern society has its *culls*. Their number is reducible to actuary's tables. As a matter of justice, this residuum should be relieved from the consequences of the industrial and social maladjustment which tends to cast it into the scrap heap. Nor is this a proposal that can be reduced to a cash equation. Few public questions can. There are too many social considerations involved. But reduced to such a material basis, it should be adopted. For a self-respecting, self-supporting artisan is no more expense to the state than the same person within the workhouse or almshouse, while the saving to the future, to self-respect and probable preservation from an extended life of crime cannot be computed.

The problem of the city's wreckage can only be adequately approached as an industrial one. For vagrancy, vice, and drunkenness are largely the results of poverty or industrial movements. Crime itself tends to disappear where work is plenty and opportunity is open. It is greatly diminished in the small town and rural community. Poverty is

both cause and effect, and the cure will not come from the closing of the saloon or the revival of the whipping post.

Ultimate relief can only be brought about through a reversal of our system and a change in the methods of criminal administration. It can only be really relieved by industrial opportunity. There must be an abandonment of the retributive ideas of the Old Testament and a substitution of the kindlier philosophy of the New.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL

One of the most significant evidences of the gain we are making appears in the beautification of our cities. This interest is general. In Washington, New York, Boston, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Chicago public and private movements have been organized for the unified treatment of the city's architecture, while hundreds of other communities are aiming to make their cities more presentable through parks, cleaner streets and higher ideas of municipal art.

This indicates that the public is learning to act in an organized way. Heretofore we have lacked a city sense. In consequence, collective action has been impossible. It also indicates a new attitude towards the city, a belief in its life, outward form and appearance, its architectural expression, its parks, schools, and playgrounds. A determination has come to make the city a more beautiful as well as a more wholesome place of living. All this is foreign to the business man's ideal of merely getting his money's worth out of government. The belief in the city as a home, as an object of public-spirited endeavor, has superseded the

earlier commercial ideals that characterized our thought.

The great cities of every age have probably passed through a similar evolution. First business, commerce, and wealth, then culture, beauty, and civic activity. It was so with Athens, which became great as a commercial centre before it was adorned by the hands of Pericles and Phidias. Rome became mistress of the Mediterranean before she enriched her streets and public places with the spoils of foreign conquest. The mediæval Italian cities of Florence, Venice, and Milan were the creations of organized democracy, as well as the centres of the world's trade with the East. In these cities it was freedom that gave birth to a local patriotism that inspired democracy to its highest achievements in the realm of art, literature, and architecture. And it is probable that, next to religion, democracy and the sense of a free city have been the greatest inspirations to art in the history of mankind.

In later centuries, the capital cities in France and Germany were embellished with splendid palaces, spacious gardens, museums, wide streets, cathedrals, art galleries, sculpture at the hands of their rulers. In Germany, every kingdom, petty principality, or dukedom had its *Hauptstadt.* Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Frankfort, Düsseldorf, and other cities have been adorned by princes

who viewed these cities as a part of their personal domain. In later years this expenditure has proven a source of continued wealth. Travellers from America alone spend millions of dollars a year in Europe in travel, in resident study, and in other ways. This in itself is a dividend upon the original investment. Even from a commercial point of view it justifies the prescience of the city's makers.

England alone is an exception to Europe in this regard. Her attention to the beautiful has been confined to the country estate. Neither London nor the provincial cities have ever projected works of the magnificent sort that are found on the Continent. Only in very recent years has the London County Council, the most democratic of England's legislative bodies, undertaken the beautification of the city and the development of a sense of the beautiful.

The splendid projects now on foot in America are an evidence that modern democracy is not satisfied with the commonplace. Just as the monumental cathedrals which everywhere dot Europe are the expression of the ideals and aspirations of mankind, so in America, democracy is coming to demand and appreciate fitting monuments for the realization of its life, and splendid parks and structures as the embodiment of its ideals. The twentieth century offers high promise of the

ultimate possibilities of democracy in generous expenditure for public purposes.

The superb plan for the carrying out of the original design of L'Enfant in the beautification of Washington has been received with enthusiastic approval by the entire country. In 1901 the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia appointed an expert committee composed of Daniel H. Burnham, Frederic Law Olmstead, Jr., Charles F. McKim, and Augustus St. Gaudens to prepare a comprehensive plan for the development of the city. The report of the commission provides for a systematic treatment of the region lying between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Potomac River on a scale of magnificence comparable only to the splendid expenditures of Louis XIV. or of Napoleon III. These plans provide for a mall one-sixth of a mile wide and extending from the Capitol to the Potomac, with Washington's Monument as the centre of the axis. On either side of this broad parkway are located sites for public structures, to be uniform in their architectural detail and devoted to the departments of the government, while along the river front wide esplanades and spacious embankments with gymnasiums, waterways, and sculpture, complete the nation's playground.

In the City of New York plans have been suggested for the erection of a splendid group of buildings about City Hall Park, with railway and

bridge terminal facilities and provisions for all of the city's official departments. Similar plans are also under consideration in San Francisco.

Probably no other city in America has projected as well as assured the carrying out of the systematic beautification of the city on so splendid a scale as has the city of Cleveland. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as no American city, with the possible exception of Chicago, is so essentially democratic in its instincts. Nowhere have the movements centring about municipal ownership, taxation, and the great industrial issues found more ready response at the hands of the voters than in this great industrial centre on the southern shore of Lake Erie. Cleveland is a commercial city *par excellence*. It has been termed the Sheffield of America. It is a centre second only to Pittsburg in the iron, steel, coal, and coke trade. One-third of its population is foreign-born. But despite this fact, as well as the newness of its life, it has shown a willingness to expend many millions of dollars in the development of the artistic side of its existence.

The city is fortunate in the fact that all its public buildings are to be constructed at the same time. A uniform plan of procedure was thus possible. The Federal Building, County Courthouse, City Hall, and Public Library, as well as several other semi-public structures, are all to be built.

Under ordinary circumstances and with the subterranean political and commercial forces at work in a city, isolated construction would doubtless have been the result. But public-spirited men have brought about a harmony of action among the many political agencies which had to be satisfied, and achieved a result not far from ideal in its possibilities. Through the aid of state legislation a Board of Supervising Architects was appointed, endowed with a final veto upon the location, plans, and style of architecture of all the public buildings. Despite some local jealousies, the city called to its aid Daniel H. Burnham, of Chicago, the supervising architect of the Chicago Exposition; John M. Carrere, supervising architect of the Pan-American Exposition of Buffalo, and Arnold W. Brunner, of New York, the architect of the new Federal Building in Cleveland. The members of this commission were employed by the city at generous salaries and given absolute freedom in the working out of a ground plan for the arrangement and development of the scheme. The commission is also entrusted with the problem of improving the public square, the approaches to the sites of the public buildings, and the development of the lake front.

This is the most significant forward step taken in America in the matter of municipal art. It is comparable to the designs of Napoleon III., who

remade Paris, with the aid of Baron Haussmann, or to the prescience of Jefferson, who called a distinguished architect to the aid of the new government in the laying out of the national capital on its present scale.

The commission thus appointed was at work for more than two years, and has presented the results of its labors in a completed plan for the arrangement of the public buildings. The design has met with such enthusiastic approval that its consummation is now assured. The total expenditure involved approximates $14,000,000 for public purposes, with from three to five millions more for a terminal railway station, music-hall, museum, and the like. It involves the clearing of a large area of land lying between the business portion of the city and Lake Erie, and the utilization of this space as a site for the public buildings, parkage, a splendid mall, and the development of a lake-front park sixty acres in extent into a splendid terminal railway station, which is to be the gateway to the city.

Even more widespread is the movement for out-of-door parks. In respect to this development the city of Boston is easily first. Her park area exceeds fifteen thousand acres and represents an expenditure of over $33,000,000 in the metropolitan and local districts and an annual charge for maintenance of $521,000. The system is more than a

local one, being comprehensively designed for the city of Boston and the thirty-eight other communities combined into an administrative district by act of the state. The system extends far out into the country and is connected together by boulevards and driveways, while a broad expanse of ocean beach has been secured for an ocean parkway.

New York is also turning its attention to the development of a comprehensive playground for the greater city. The famous Riverside Drive is being extended to the north, where it connects by broad boulevards with the Bronx and other park systems. In Brooklyn, Bay Ridge Parkway and Ocean Parkway are broad stretches of open parkage, the latter being five miles in length and connecting Prospect Park with Coney Island. It is also proposed to secure an expansive ocean frontage at Rockaway Beach as a seaside park.

Across the Hudson, the great Essex County Park system of over three thousand acres has been developed for the Oranges and Newark, while the Palisades are being acquired through the inter-state action of New York and New Jersey. In the West, Kansas City has recently worked out a splendid plan of parks, while Chicago has considered a scheme for the reclamation of the city's water front and the construction of a broad breakwater parkway some distance out in the lake and

connecting Jackson Park with the centre of the city. In Philadelphia, two millions of dollars have been appropriated for the bringing of Fairmount Park up to the centre of the city by a diagonal boulevard, while Cleveland has laid out a series of parks extending completely around the city and connected by boulevards, both extremities of the system resting upon the lake front. In time it is proposed to connect these lake parks by a boulevard system extending across the centre of the city, and connecting with the public buildings.

Similar activities are slowly transforming the city from within. The unsightly poles which have obstructed our streets are gradually disappearing, and the telegraph, telephone, and lighting wires are being sunk into conduits. Already this has been brought about in New York, Washington, Baltimore, and Cleveland. The planting, care, and preservation of trees are gradually being assumed by the city, while the nondescript gas and electric-light poles are being replaced by artistically designed iron posts, such as are found in New York City.

A similar change has come over school architecture and interior decoration. Police and fire station houses, branch libraries, and other public buildings are being designed with an eye to beauty as well as to utility. Grade crossings are being abolished by the depression or elevation of the

tracks, and the abatement of the smoke nuisance has already made much headway in a number of cities. In Boston, New York, Chicago, Pittsburg, Buffalo, and Cleveland art galleries, museums, and similar structures for educational purposes are being erected as the result of private benefaction or public expenditure.

All these exhibits of public spirit indicate a new point of view. The city has already assumed a new character. It has inspired philanthropic gifts, which have heretofore gone to charity, education, and the like, and diverted them to municipal uses. The city is coming to mean something to the citizen; it is coming to mean much to the voter. For in the ordinary course of development, the sense of art, of beauty, of coördinated parks and architecture would be the last sense to be developed. Historically it has been the final expression of a city sense. It involves and implies a love and affectionate interest in the city, and a conception of its unity and purpose.

Nothing is more convincing of the substantial municipal uplift which has taken place in America, or of the ultimate power of democracy to interest itself in public affairs, than the recent awakening of interest in art and public beauty and a willingness to make such sacrifices as may be necessary to bring their realization about.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CITY'S TREASURE

Back of any programme of municipal activity is the problem of ways and means. For schools, parks, safety, health, comfort, and happiness can come by no Fortunatus Purse. And if, as is frequently asserted, all taxes are ultimately shaken down to the defenceless members of the community, to the wage-earner and the consumer, we are left in our quest for a better city with the alternative of an unrealizable Cloud-cuckoo dream or a still further burden upon the back of the urban dweller for advantages which he cannot afford.

Yet there is another alternative, an alternative whose adoption would permit of the abolition of all taxes and the carrying on of the city's affairs from out its own treasury. The city itself is a wealth-producer. Every city in the land is built upon a treasure like unto that which underlies the Colorado town whose revenues are all derived from royalties from the mines upon which it is built. The progressive needs of the municipality have a ready-made mine of treasure, a mine which needs only to be opened

to satisfy the demands of city expansion without cost to the dwellers therein. This revenue renews itself from year to year. Its growth is more rapid than the growth of the city's necessities. It is as constant as the laws of nature itself. This treasure appears in the outcropping granite of Manhattan Island, so lean in its fertility as scarce to support life, but which has become, through the growth of the city, worth hundreds of thousands—in places, millions of dollars an acre. The low-lying swamps at the mouth of the Chicago River, which the eager settler passed by and ignored in his search for a home, have proven a source of revenue more regal in its proportions than the wealth of the Incas, while the craggy site of Fort Pitt at the junction of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers has become far more valuable than the subject provinces of a Roman conqueror.

This treasure is the constantly increasing value of urban land through the growth of the city.

One need not accept the philosophy of *Progress and Poverty* to appreciate a fact with which every investor, speculator, or banker in the community is familiar. For the increase in city land values presents as amazing an exhibit as the massing of urban population itself. Nowhere does the advance in population, in law and order, in comfort, convenience, and the opportunities which the city

offers, manifest themselves so palpably as in the upward movement of land values, the treasure of the city. Every babe that is born, every immigrant hastening to the city to adopt it as his home, every genius that lends his talent to his fellows, even the common workman on the streets, adds something to this treasure that is daily and hourly, by night as well as by day, responding to the city's growth.

No act of the owner creates this value. Nothing which he can do will increase or diminish it. It is proof against the elements; fire cannot destroy it nor the winds or rain impair it. But every increase in population, every dollar expended for improvements, sewers, streets, lighting, police, fire, or health protection adds its increment to the value of building sites or the privilege of occupying the city's highways. For the right of using the city's streets for the supply of transportation, gas, water, electric lighting, and telephones is in all respects like the site value of the land. In the eyes of the law, these are appurtenant to the land. And the influences which enhance the value of the land, increase the value of these franchises as well.

No effort of the owner can hasten this growth. Whether at home or abroad, industrious or shiftless, whether dwelling upon the site and watching it by night as well as by day, or living in the fur-

thermost quarters of the globe, the growth is the same and the human equation equally insignificant. An occasional loss there may be here and there, but the universal movement is upward. The growth of population assures this. The law of demand and supply—population ever increasing, land remaining constant—fixes the equation of the "unearned increment" of city land. This is the one value that thrift, economy, prudence, or any of the traditional business virtues cannot alter, cannot aid. It is this fact that produces the land speculator, who retards natural development and sacrifices municipal progress for his own advantage. In every great city large areas of land are to be found idle or badly improved, held by their owners for a rise and ultimately placed upon the market at an increase in price.

Just as there are two classes within the city which gain by its growth, so all other classes suffer. They pay tribute to the land-owner as well as to those enjoying privileges in the streets. This tribute arises when one is born; it cannot be escaped during life. It is a tribute which must be paid for the privilege of working, of living, of contributing to the upbuilding of the city.

This loss may sometimes be difficult to trace. The merchant, the manufacturer, or the professional man may benefit by the growth of population, but the benefit is fortuitous and precarious.

In the long run, the gain that the growth of the city brings to him is absorbed by the increased competition which follows the growth. In every city there are about the same number of grocery stores, pharmacists, doctors, lawyers, and retail merchants to every thousand of the population. These classes enjoy no monopoly of their calling. In the end success is measured by their enterprise, thrift, skill, or ability. The landlord, on the other hand, knows no competition save the competition of those who would occupy his land. This very competition increases its value. Accessibility to the railway, a corner site where thousands pass each day, an advantageous outlook, a beautiful situation, all these enter into the value of the land and are ultimately paid by the city dweller. This tribute follows him to his residence on the avenue or to the tenement in the slum. It pursues him to his office. It enters into the cost of every commodity that he may use.

This municipal treasure, this unearned increment, may now be measured. It is colossal. In the City of New York, the Tax Department is required to value all land and improvements separately. In 1904, the assessed value of the land in the city was $3,697,686,935. The population then was something over three and one-half millions. At five per cent. per annum this valuation is equivalent to an annual charge upon the city's

life from the lands within its borders of $184,884,430. This is equivalent to a per capita burden of $52.85 on every man, woman, and child in the community. It amounts to from $200 to $250 per family.[1]

"One hundred and eighty-five millions! Let us try to comprehend it," says Herbert S. Bigelow. "Suppose every bread-winner in that city earned three dollars a day. Suppose one in every three was a bread-winner. These estimates are too high, but it is well to keep on the safe side. Now, then, it takes the combined labor of all the toilers of New York City for fifty-five days in every year to satisfy the demands of the landlords. The last Bulletin of the Department of Labor contains the results of an investigation of the land values of Philadelphia. This investigator shows that the land there is owned by less than ten per cent. of the people. If this percentage holds good in New York, it means that less than 350,000 peo-

[1] In order to get at the gross value of the land in the City of New York, it is necessary to add to the assessed valuation the capitalized value of the taxes imposed upon the land. For whatever is taken from the income of land by the state reduces its capitalized value for the purpose of sale. The gross value is therefore much higher. It is $4,777,686,935, obtained as follows:

Assessed valuation of land in New York . . .	$3,697,686,935
Taxes now assessed against the land $54,000,000, capitalized at five per cent.	1,080,000,000
	$4,777,686,935
Ground rent at five per cent	$238,884,346

Population, 3,500,000, gives a per capita rent at $68.20.

ple collect of the other 3,500,000 who live there a toll of $185,000,000 a year, which is a kind of first mortgage they have upon the industry of that mighty city, and which amounts to the complete enslavement of that entire population for fifty-five days in every year."

The human mind fails to grasp the significance of values when they mount into the thousands of millions. "Let us translate it," suggests Mr. Louis F. Post in the *Public,* "into farm values. Almost any one can recall some well-improved farm of say one hundred acres and worth about $50 an acre. Suppose we translate into such farm values that $3,697,686,935 of New York land values, and see how much of the earth's surface those farms would cover. This would give us 738,537 $5000 farms of 100 acres each. As the area of about six and one-half of these farms would make a square mile, we should have a path of those farms one mile wide and 113,621 miles long. Thus the naked land values of New York City represent a path of $5000 farms of 100 acres each, one mile wide and extending more than four times around the globe. When it is considered that other cities, towns, and villages yield similar results in kind, and that hardly a foot of the habitable globe is left which does not command its price for the privilege of mere occupancy, there is something queer about the familiar contention, especially common in uni-

versities, that land is a factor of but little importance in modern industrial life."

New York is not exceptional in this amazing exhibit of treasure. A recent report of the United States Bureau of Labor offers a similar showing from the city of Philadelphia. In that city the value of the land increased in the fifteen years from 1885 to 1900 from $587,749,828 to $879,259,355. The growth of the city, the demand for a foothold, the growth of security and convenience gave birth to a value of $291,545,527 at an annual average increase of $19,500,000 a year.[1] The value of the naked land in the city of Philadelphia involves an annual ground-rent charge at five per cent. of $44,000,000 a year; or an annual burden of over $200 upon every family of five in a city. In 1900 the ordinary expenditures of Philadelphia were but $26,375,263, or about one-third more than the annual speculative increase in the value of the land alone. The total cost of that stupendous monument of jobbery, the City Hall, which has been in process of erection for years, could have been paid for in sixteen months out of this annual increment alone. Moreover, in five wards of the city, the increase in the value of the land exceeded one hundred per cent. in but fifteen years' time. Can a similar showing of speculative increase be

[1] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, January, 1904, p. 106.

made as to any other form of wealth, of buildings, homes, machinery, of wages, salaries, or other income?[1]

It is this growth in urban land values that is creating the landless citizen. In the wards covered by the investigation of the Bureau of Labor in Philadelphia, one-tenth of one per cent., or one one-thousandth of the population, possessed one-fourth of all the land. From the reports of the Twelfth Census it appears that ninety-six per cent. of the persons occupying homes in New York are tenants, while in Manhattan and the Bronx but two per cent. are unencumbered owners of the houses in which they dwell. In Boston ninety-two per cent. of the population are renters; in Chicago eighty-nine per cent.; in San Francisco eighty-five per cent.; in New Orleans eighty-three per cent., and in Denver eighty-four per cent. The tenant is all but universal.

This speculative increase in the value of city lands is so manifest as scarce to need this demonstration. But its amount is so great that we do not ordinarily comprehend its significance.

In the city of Chicago, a quarter-acre site on the corner of State and Madison streets increased in value from $20 in 1830 to $1,500,000 in 1895.[2] A

[1] The valuation for Philadelphia is not an official valuation made for taxing purposes, but a compilation from the best sources available. It is probably below the real value.

[2] Illinois Labor Report for 1894, p. 277.

piece of land sixty feet wide on Broadway was recently sold for $1,030,000, or at the rate of $17,166.66 per front foot.

The dirt which lies at the corner of Broadway and Wall Street is no more valuable as dirt than are equal amounts in the barren lands of the West. But the massing of millions about this centre, the coming of immigration, the development of trade, the making of public improvements, all these things have given this spot of land a value almost equal to the golden eagles necessary to cover it.

For upwards of a generation land and improvements in the city of Boston have been separately assessed for the purpose of taxation. Valuations have been returned by the assessors at approximately their full value. In 1902, including a moderate estimate for the value of the franchises of the public service corporations, as well as a capitalization of the taxes paid on land, these values amounted to $842,600,000, which, at five per cent., would yield a gross annual ground rent of $42,000,000. The total revenues of the city in 1902 were less than $18,000,000. If the entire burdens of local government had been imposed upon the value of the land alone, it would have involved a tax rate of less than two and one-fourth per cent. and absorbed less than one-half of the annual gross value of the land.[1]

[1] From the Annual Report of the Assessing Department of the

The annual budget of the City of New York is approximately $108,000,000. One-half of the city's revenue, or about $54,000,000, is already collected from the land, exclusive of improvements. With the remaining $54,000,000 assessed against the land, and buildings, improvements, and other forms of property relieved from taxation, an income of from three to four per cent. would still remain to the owners upon the present inflated values.

Across the continent, in the city of San Francisco, the exhibit is the same. Here, as in Boston, the assessments of land and improvements have been separately made for years. And here, as there, the increase in land values is astounding. Taking the valuations for each quinquennial period from 1885 to 1904, it appears that the growth in value has been constant. The figures for those years taken from the Municipal Reports are as follows:[1]

City of Boston, it appears that the increase in land valuations for five years has been as follows:

Year.	Value land unimproved.	Gain over preceding year.
1899	$507,596,250.00	
1900	532,933,500.00	$25,347,250.00
1901	547,246,600.00	14,313,100.00
1902	573,193,150.00	25,946,550.00
1903	594,599,850.00	21,406,600.00

or an average increase in value of $21,753,375.00 per year.

[1] A change was evidently made in the rule of appraisal between 1900–1904, by which the lands were returned at more nearly their

Year.	Land valuation.	Five years' increase.
1885	$118,353,253.00	
1890	164,966,792.00	$46,613,539.00
1900	190,457,425.00	25,490,633.00
1904	293,500,085.00	103,042,660.00

During these nineteen years the total increase in the value of the land alone was $175,146,832, at an average rate of $9,218,254 per annum. During the years from 1885 to 1900, inclusive, the total taxes levied for city, county, and state purposes upon real estate, improvements, and personal property was $84,252,058, at the average rate of $5,265,753 per year. This is very much less than the annual speculative increase in the land alone.

Occasionally this phenomenon of city land values can be observed free from any confusing incidents. In 1856 the State of Massachusetts reclaimed about one hundred acres of land in the Back Bay District of Boston. A portion of the land was subsequently given to the city and to certain scientific institutions. The state expended on the streets, sewers, and improvements the sum of $1,642,000. The remaining land was sold for $5,084,000, making a total net profit of at least $4,262,000, which was pure site value. But this was only the original increment. In 1892, something over half of the tract, exclusive of buildings,

full value. This qualifies the value of these statistics for the last five years.

was assessed for taxation at $19,246,800. It is now unquestionably worth very much more in the market. Here, then, is a pure land value of $17,-614,000, which has been amassed by the growth of the city, not a particle of which is the result of human labor or industry.[1]

This intangible increase in the value of land is an anomalous form of wealth. It makes its appearance with the growth of population and the advance of society. It is purely social in its creation, and would pass away, as does a shadow, were population to disappear. It is known to no other form of wealth than land and the things appurtenant to the land, as railways, franchises, mines, and the means of transportation and transmission. All other wealth is the product of human labor. This value alone is a surplus value, and its amount, as we have seen, is far in excess of the needs of the government.

[1] *Natural Taxation*, Thomas G. Shearman, p. 236.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REVENUES OF THE CITY

It is this growing fund, this unearned increment, which exists by virtue of the city and could not exist without it, that offers a ready-made source of revenue for municipal purposes. It seems destined by nature as a means of compensation for the costs of municipal life. The crowding of mankind in the city has created many burdens unknown in an earlier or rural form of society. Police, fire, and health protection; the necessity for water, sewers, streets, transportation, light, and heat; the opportunity for recreation, for nature, for touch with Mother Earth; all these form the cost we pay for the new city civilization. The city exacts it as a price of life itself. Every expenditure by the city benefits the land and the land almost alone. Houses cannot increase in value beyond their cost of construction; nor do machinery, tools, or merchandise. As a matter of fact, they depreciate. And while taxation increases their security, it cannot increase their value beyond the cost of replacement. Under our present method of raising revenue, we charge a large por-

tion of the cost of city life to labor, for taxes upon houses, industry, and food are inevitably borne by labor. We do this and overlook close at hand a common treasure, a publicly created fund which rises in value with every dollar expended by the city. All men created this fund, and all should enjoy it. The rule of municipal life should be "to the individual what he has created, to the city what it has created."

This principle is recognized when the city leases a site which it owns for business purposes. Provision is made for future reappraisals, so that the increase in value will be retained for public uses.[1]

[1] An example is furnished by the city of San Francisco, which is the owner of a considerable block of land. The city has prudently refrained from selling. To an article by Mr. Joseph Leggett of that city I am indebted for the following statement of the results of the city's policy.

"The city owns a lot 275 feet on Market Street by a depth of 100 feet on Fifth Street. An act of the Legislature approved March 30, 1874, authorized the Board of Supervisors to lease this lot for twenty years to the highest bidders. The Board made eleven subdivisions of the lot and leased them to different persons at different rates per front foot. The average rate per front foot per month for the last five years of the twenty-year term was $11.60, or $139.20 per front foot for one year. It is a little over two miles from the junction of Market and Valencia streets to the foot of the latter street, and Fifth Street is equidistant from those two points. Rents will decrease towards Valencia Street and increase towards the ferry, so that the rents of these lots would be very nearly an average for the whole length of Market Street from Valencia to East. The whole number of running feet on both sides of Market Street from Valencia to East is 23,054. Deducting from this total 2800 linear feet for street openings, there remain 20,254 feet of frontage on the street

The franchises in the public highways differ in no essential respect from these city sites. They are leasehold interests. In the eyes of the law they are easements appurtenant to the land. The right to make use of the streets for private purposes is in all respects like the right to make use of a building site. In the one instance, the investment made is in building structures; in the other in rails, poles, ties, pipes, wires, and the like. The cars which may run upon the rails are like the elevator in the building. Were our councils only free from corruption in the letting of these franchises, were we in a position to secure competition

available for business purposes. This frontage at $139.20 per foot per year would yield $2,819,356.80. There are at the time of this writing, October, 1896, 152 miles of accepted streets. A considerable portion of the frontage of these accepted streets is nearly as valuable for business purposes as the frontage on Market Street.

"In addition to the rent the lessees had to pay taxes on the improvements made by them and which reverted to the city. The improvements were assessed at $38,900. When the leases expired in 1895, the lessee of the 50 feet adjoining the Parrott Building conveyed his building to the city, without compensation. The city thereupon made a new lease of those 50 feet, with the improvements on them, for two years at an annual rent of $172.80 per front foot. At this rate the two sides of Market Street between East and Valencia would yield an annual rent of $3,449,891.20.

"The Board of Education has leased certain property to the San Francisco Real Estate Improvement Company at a monthly rent of $4000 for the full term of ten years. In addition to the rent the lessees are bound to make permanent improvements of the value of $50,000 during the term, all of which are to revert to the Board."

From this it appears how easily all the revenue for city purposes could be collected from the land alone, without even touching more than the annual speculative value.

as we are in the land, we should exact the same terms in the one instance as we do in the other. It is this identity of building sites and street sites that justifies the franchise tax. For rights of way upon the streets are but site values. Their value is created, as are those of the corner lot, by the growth of society. It is the favored situation that gives value to the one just as it does to the other.

Moreover, the supply of transportation, gas, water, and electric lighting is a monopoly even more complete than the land. To these, as to the landlord, the growth of population yields an annual dividend, a dividend that is constant and resistless and that all other classes must pay. These services are exempt from competition, while their supply is necessary to all who live within the community. Their value consists in a privilege in the streets actually if not legally exclusive, and limited in terms or perpetual in its duration. These industries are capitalized at many times the cost of their construction and pay dividends on this capitalization. While the wealth that is the result of human labor, energy, and thrift is taxed, this wealth which has cost nothing save a grant, ofttimes fraudulent in its origin, is usually assessed at but a portion of its physical value. The franchise escapes, although it has a recognized value which is dealt in daily on the stock exchange

and differs in no essential from the value of the land itself.[1]

It may be suggested that interests have become established, rights are vested, and the *status quo* should not be disturbed. The abandonment of all other forms of taxation and the shifting of the burden on to the land may be challenged as confiscation. If this be true, it violates our constitutional and social guarantees as well as the moral sense of the community. But aside from other considerations, the increase in land values is so constant as almost immediately to offset any increase which might be made in the tax burden. As has been said by an opponent of the land tax, "The beauty of a tax upon land values is that in a few years' time nobody pays it." And were we to adopt the suggestion of John Stuart Mill, that justice to society as well as to the landlord would permit the city to assume the future increment in land values, all, or almost all of the present city revenues could be collected from the annual increase in land without touching its present value.

It appears that in Boston the increase in the assessed value of land has been $245,000,000 in fif-

[1] For a full discussion of the franchise tax as applied to all public service corporations, see articles by the author in *The American Law Review*, vol. xxxiii., No. 5; also paper in Report of Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association; as well as Publications American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 258.

teen years, or $16,000,000 per year. This, with the present land tax, exceeds the budget of the city. In the city of Philadelphia the annual increment in the value of the land from 1885 to 1900 amounted to $19,500,000, or three-fourths of the total annual expenditure of the city. From a Congressional investigation it appears that in the city of Washington the minimum increase in land values was ten per cent. per annum, or upwards of $10,000,000 per year. The total expenditures of the capital city for maintenance and operation were but little over $5,000,000 in 1900, and for all purposes but $8,000,000, or twenty per cent. less than the annual speculative gain of the land alone. A similar showing appears from the report of the city of San Francisco heretofore referred to.

In New York the increase in land values from 1904 to 1905 was $140,000,000, or twenty million dollars more than the value of all the offices, hotels, apartment houses, and other structures erected during the year. While labor and capital added $120,000,000 to the city's wealth, the growth of population created $140,000,000. This fund, this unearned increment, which passed into the pockets of a rapidly diminishing number of landlords, exceeded by $30,000,000 the total expenditures of the city for all purposes. So that had the total revenues of the city been collected from the

increase of the land alone, there would still have remained to those who have done nothing towards its creation a dividend equal to the present interest payments on the debt of America, or a sum of almost ten dollars per head for every man, woman, and child within the community.

The most conservative could take no exception to the assumption by the city of these future speculative gains. No man has a vested right to them any more than he has a right to indemnity from the city for depreciation.

But quite aside from this, society knows no vested interests when its own welfare is at stake. The government does not hesitate at an increase of the tax upon distilled liquors to ten times the cost of the article. It has practically taken over the conduct of the business itself. It has destroyed state banks of issue by a tax of ten per cent. upon their notes. It has altered tariff rates from fifty to one hundred per cent., to the injury, if not the bankruptcy, of thousands of innocent people. Without a suggestion of impairing vested interests, or destroying property, our cities pass local option legislation ruinous to those who have invested their all in the saloon. Moreover, indirect taxes are levied by nation and state whose incidence is acknowledged by all to be most unjust to the poor and defenceless, and to be in effect but exaggerated poll-taxes.

The advisability, even the conventional justice of such a tax upon land values alone, is demonstrated by still other considerations. It is demanded in fairness to investment, to capital itself. This may be shown by an example, the analogy of which is apparent.

Two men, A and B, are seeking investment. A decides to place his money in land in a growing city. B, on the other hand, invests his funds in houses and business blocks. He erects his structures on the land of A under leases subject to revaluation every ten years. Such leases are in vogue in all of our principal cities, and are universal in England. The city decides to pave and sewer the streets. The cost of this improvement is assessed back on the abutting owners, A and B, in proportion to their investment. The effect is immediate on the land. It is enhanced in value. As to the buildings, their value cannot be increased beyond the cost of reproduction. Water, gas, and electric transportation follow. The benefit goes to the land. It cannot enhance the value of the buildings, for their value is determined by their cost. As time passes, B is called upon to make repairs upon his buildings. A can neither add to nor subtract from the value of his land. He may even go abroad. Fire cannot destroy his investment, nor can robbers molest it. His property is safe. B, on the other hand, must devote his time

and attention to his business; to the collection of rents, the maintenance of repairs, and the supervision of his interests. He must insure his property from fire. From all these burdens, A is exempt. At the end of ten years, the period of revaluation of the land under the lease comes round. During the interim, A has expended nothing except for taxes. B has also paid these, and in addition has suffered a depreciation in the value of his investment of from twenty-five to fifty per cent. In addition, he has paid for insurance and repairs and given his time and attention to his business. He is poorer by one-quarter or one-half, so far as investment goes, than when he began. In the meantime, the city has grown. Business has prospered. Property is in demand. A reappraisal of the ground rent is made. The value of the land is determined by that of other sites similarly situated. All of the taxes which B has paid, as well as those which A has paid, have increased the value of the land. B's energy, thrift, and enterprise in building up the city all flow into A's pocket. In ten years' time the value of A's investment has doubled, and the ground rent which he receives for it has increased proportionately. During this time he has been free to do as he pleased. Free from worry, care, or risk, the enterprise and public spirit of B have drifted to his purse.

Another decade passes. Depreciation in the

buildings continues. By the end of fifty years the buildings have fallen to decay. They must be rebuilt. They have become an encumbrance to the ground. It is generally estimated that the life of a house, building, or manufacturing plant does not exceed forty years. During this time, the city has not only punished B, his industry, thrift, and public spirit, by taxation, but the wear and tear of time have slowly taken his investment from him, while A, indifferent alike to the city and to B, has seen his capital doubled, trebled, possibly quadrupled in value.

Justice to B, justice even to A, combine in demanding that the land should bear the burden of this gain. For the investment of A has increased in value. That of B has vanished. And yet B has been enterprising, while A has not. He has aided in the upbuilding of the city, while A has enjoyed the benefits of his energy.

It may be said that men do not invest their money in this way; that land and improvements are usually held by the same person. When this is true, any objection to the taxation of site values alone disposes of itself, for the increase in the landlord's burden is diminished *pro tanto* on him as a house-owner. It simply shifts the assessment from the land and the improvement to the land alone. In addition, as the house-owner, he will be relieved to some extent because of the in-

crease in rates on unimproved land, as well as from the fact that under existing conditions the assessor usually undervalues land which is unimproved or improved by buildings of little value.

But as a matter of fact, the separation of ownership between the land and the improvements is fast becoming common. The tendency in all advancing cities is towards the " ground-rent " system. To-day many if not most of the large office buildings, hotels, and apartment houses are erected upon leased estates upon either a fixed or a revaluation plan.

The pressure within our cities for living space enforces an intensive use of the land. Owners need only sit idly by and await the inevitable demand of some one who is willing to build subject to such terms as the landlord may affix. All London, all Glasgow, in fact, almost all England, as well as a large part of New York, are built upon leasehold tenements. The ground-renting system is universal in Baltimore and is becoming more and more common in all the larger cities. Instances may be multiplied of men who have built up business sections of a city through their industry, who erected office buildings upon leased land which was subject to reappraisal. Under a revaluation of the leasehold, the ground rent was so increased that the entire benefit of that enterprise was ap-

propriated by the owner of the land. The landlord did nothing, while the investment in the buildings depreciated. Years ago, in Chicago, one of the large skyscrapers was built upon such a lease. The building was erected from the sale of stock and bonds. As time went on, the land increased in value. The ground rent was correspondingly increased. Ultimately, the value of the land advanced to such an extent that the building did not earn enough to meet the charges for the rent and operating expenses.

Thus it is that every advance in society, every increase in population, every improvement in transportation, or protection, benefits the land-owner and the land-owner alone. And every other form of wealth suffers. It depreciates, decays, becomes antiquated. Machinery and tools must be scrapped. They are written off the books. Every ten years, one-half the active capital of the producing world is worn out, the other half is depreciated in value. During these years it had to be repaired, insured from loss, and protected. Land alone and franchises are exempt from all these burdens. No wear or tear takes place, no insurance is to be paid. And a shifting of the burden of taxation from industry, from buildings, from homes would but partially equalize this loss. It would offset insurance and compensate for depreciation. To this extent it would encourage industry and tax

speculation; it would relieve public spirit and enterprise and place the burden upon him who does nothing but idly permit society to work for him.

It is because of these facts, because land values are due to the growth of society, that the city should look to them for its revenue. And while such a fund is a common one produced by all, but now appropriated by the private owner, it is a providential coincidence that at the same time it cannot be evaded. It must be paid to some one. For pure economic rent, uninfluenced by the speculative withholding of land from use, is of itself not a burden to industry, because it is a payment for value received. Its assumption by taxation merely shifts the income from the individual landlord to society, which has created it. As said by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, "Here is a tax, just, equal, full, fair, paid for full value received, returning full value for the payment, meeting all the requirements of that ideal tax, which professors and practical men alike have declared to be an impossibility. It is not merely a tax which justice *allows;* it is one which justice *demands.* It is not merely one which *ought* to be collected; it is one which infallibly will be and *is* collected. It is not merely one which the State *ought* to see collected; it is one which, in the long run, the State *cannot prevent* from being collected. The

State can change the particular landlord; it cannot abolish rent." [1]

The land values in any of our leading cities are increasing faster than the expenditures of the community for ordinary purposes. The ground rents of New York maintain a few families in idleness with revenues of regal proportions, while the three and a half million people residing therein bear an annual burden of $185,000,000. In England this fact is slowly being recognized. It has become an insistent issue in party politics. There as here " The rights of property," as was said by Joseph Chamberlain, M. P., " have been so much extended that the rights of the community have almost altogether disappeared and it is hardly too much to say that the property and the comforts and the liberties of a great proportion of the population have been laid at the feet of a small number of proprietors, who ' neither toil nor spin.' "

At one time it was objected that the taxation of land values alone was impossible. And yet nothing is better known than the value of city land. It can be ascertained to a nicety in any banker's or broker's office. But such objections are no longer heard. For not only does New York separate the assessments of land and buildings, but the returns are published and open to the inspection and criticism of all. The land in Massachu-

[1] *Natural Taxation*, p. 118.

setts has been separately appraised for years, as it has in San Francisco, Cleveland, Detroit, and many other cities. Moreover, the taxation of land values alone has long since passed the speculative stage. It has already become effective in practice. In New Zealand, that experiment station of reform legislation, nearly sixty communities have adopted it. The same system is in operation in parts of Australia, and the Report of the Revenue Commission of Colorado states that the Premier of New Zealand says "it has proved a success and should be made compulsory."

In the resumption by the city of this social treasure, in the annual taking over of the speculative increase of to-day, means are afforded for the carrying out of a programme of city improvement otherwise impossible, were the city dependent upon the taxation of industry and the wage-earner. But here is a fund which renews itself like the fabled Antæus. It can never be exhausted, and automatically grows and diminishes with the needs of the city. For the value of the city's land is an unvarying barometer of the city's life. It registers its pulse-beats and responds to every added want. Through it the vicarious sacrifice exacted from those who come to the city may be returned to them in communal services; in education, health, protection, and happiness. Through it schools, kindergartens, libraries, art galleries, and muse-

ums may be supplied to the city for the education and recreation of the people. By its assumption, the parks, city clubhouses, and public music may be offered to the boy and girl, the working man and working woman, within a short distance of every man's door. It would destroy the slum, and the model tenement, adapted to the comfort and cleanliness of the dweller, would take its place, while rents, the heaviest burden involved in city life, would diminish by the abandonment of the tax upon buildings and improvements. Vacant lots adorned with billboards would then give way to industry and commodious homes.

From such a fund the common needs of the city could be gratified without the taxation of industry or labor. Street cars could be run at cost or without cost to the inhabitants, just as are the elevators in the buildings, the bridges within the city, or the sewers under the highways. Water, gas, fuel, and electricity could be supplied in the same way, while the present burdens of taxation would be shifted from the backs of those who have built up the city on to a fund which is social or common in its origin.

The tax upon land cannot be shifted to the tenant. It remains where it falls. For whatever is taken in taxation but diminishes the value of land. It cannot increase the rental at all. In this it differs from other rates, for all other taxes,

with the possible exception of those on incomes and inheritance, are ultimately shifted on to the consumer.

Such a programme is as simple in its realization as it is beautiful in its adjustment and just in its claims. A legislative enactment permitting each city to adopt its own revenue measures would open it to adoption. Its application to the existing machinery of taxation would be equally simple. It would only require an ordinance exempting buildings and improvements, personal property and the like from assessment. Then the tax would immediately be deposited on the land alone. Tax evasions would then cease. Perjury in the return of personal property would no longer be universal, and the obligation on the tax-assessors would be reduced to the ascertainment of the bare value of the land, a calculation which can be made with precision from the recorded sales, the opinions of the neighborhood, and the evidence of experts.

That such a treasure exists ample for all purposes and adequate for the needs of the city is apparent. That it is the source of many idle millions and the chief burden upon the city dweller is equally true. The annual value of the lands underlying New York, Philadelphia, and Boston is from two to two and one-half times the present annual expenditure of those cities.

With such a reform inaugurated, the city industrial could then become the city beautiful, the city helpful, the city fraternal in the truest sense of the word. Then the city will take from each according to the benefits he has received and not according to his enterprise. Then life will be relieved of its most relentless punishments and the cost, the price, the vicarious suffering will be made good from out the common treasure of the city. Then opportunity will be enlarged and the plane of competition elevated; then higher education will become a possibility to all, while the poverty which is now the result of industrial causes will no longer impel mankind away from the good. For the city will not only stimulate industry by stimulating opportunity, it will relieve those who fail from the most cruel results of their failure.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE

The city is not only the problem of our civilization, it is the hope of the future. In the city democracy is awakening, it is beginning to assert itself. Here life is free and eager and countless agencies coöperate to create a warmer sympathy, a broader sense of responsibility, and a more intelligent political sense. Already the city has attained a higher degree of political responsiveness than has the commonwealth which gave it being and which jealously resents its growing independence. In many instances it is better governed than is the state or the nation at large. It is freer from the more subtle forms of corruption. For the open bribe, the loan, or even the game of poker in which the ignorant councilman is permitted to win a handsome stake are not the only means employed. Self-interest, a class-conscious feeling, the fancied advantage of party may be as powerful a motive for evil as the more vulgar methods with which we are familiar. The sinister influences bent on maintaining the *status quo,* on the prevention of necessary legislation, the control of the party, the caucus, or the convention; methods

which are in vogue in national and state affairs, may be even more dangerous to democracy than the acts which violate the criminal code and which are becoming intolerable to public opinion. Moreover, in national affairs, the public is less alert, much less able to act collectively or to concentrate attention upon a given issue. The same is true in state affairs, where the divergent interests of the country and the city render united action well-nigh impossible.

The city is also being aroused to social and economic issues as well as to political ones. It is constantly taking on new activities and assuming new burdens. Everything tends to encourage this, while many things render it imperative. By necessity we are forced to meet the burdens of a complex life. We cannot live in close association without common activities, without abandoning some of our liberties to regulation. Not only do health, comfort, and happiness demand this, self-protection necessitates it.

Some of the activities which the city has assumed, or will assume, have been suggested. Through them many of the losses which the city has created will be made good. By these means the city will become fuller of opportunity than the scattered rural life which it has displaced. A conscious housing policy will be adopted. The tenement will become habitable, comfortable, and

safe. Cheap and rapid transit will lure the population from the crowded slum into smaller suburban centres. For the city of the future will cover a wide area.

The same motives that have opened up breathing spots in the form of parks, as well as public baths and gymnasiums, in the crowded quarters will, in time, lead to the establishment of city clubhouses, winter recreation centres, where such advantages as are now found in the social settlement will be offered. About these centres the life of the community will focus for study, play, recreation, and political activity. Here concerts, lectures, and human intercourse will be offered. A sense of the city as a home, as a common authority, a thing to be loved and cared for, will be developed. In the city club the saloon will find a rival. From such centres charity work will be carried on. Here neglected children will be cared for, here the boys and girls will find an opportunity of escape from the street, and the mother and father a common meeting ground which is now denied them. For city life not only destroys the home of the poor, it promotes divorce. The tenement drives its dwellers to the streets and to the saloon. Private philanthropy has done much to relieve this condition through the settlement, but the service it renders is as much a public one as are the parks, the hospitals, or the schools. For the settlement is

the equivalent of the outdoor park. Even from a pecuniary point of view it is a good investment to the city. The settlement promotes order, it lessens crime, it reduces petty misdemeanors, and organizes the life and energy of the slum and turns it into good channels. The uniform testimony of police officials is to the effect that a settlement or a playground is as good as a half-dozen policemen.

When the city becomes its own factory inspector, the problem of school attendance will be simplified. Then the city will be able to coördinate its administration and enforce its own ordinances. With reduced cost of transportation, through the public ownership of the means of transit, with free books and possibly free luncheons to school children, compulsory education will become a possibility. For the problem of education is largely economic or industrial. Our cities are now in the illogical position of enforcing school attendance upon those who cannot afford even the insignificant cost of the same.

These reforms will be possible through home rule, through the city-republic. With the city free in these regards it will be able to raise the educational age, adopt manual-training and trades' schools, fit its instruction to local needs, and ultimately elevate the standard of life of all classes. With the city free, the administration of our cor-

rectional institutions may be fitted to the crime. Probation courts and city farm schools may then be established and provision made for those of tender years who, in many cities, are still imprisoned with criminals, branded with the mark of crime, a brand which they can never outlive, a memory which they can never forget, an influence that can never be eradicated. Then the city will be able to discriminate between the offences of ignorance and poverty and those of instinct. To-day they are all classed together. The poor who have unwittingly violated some local ordinance, such as blocking a sidewalk, driving a garbage cart without a license, failing to remove rubbish, or the like, when arrested, if unable to find bail, are cast into jail to await trial or to serve their time. An examination of the police-court blotter of the average city leads one to wonder if the offences of society against its own do not equal those of the individual against his fellows. Justice, as administered in these courts, probably hurts quite as much as it helps, and society, by its thoughtlessness, creates as much crime as it prevents. The solicitude of the common law for the occasional innocent has not been extended to the thousands of real innocents, to the children, the unfortunate, the ignorant, whom indifference punishes and, in punishing, destroys. Thousands of men and women are sent to the jails, workhouses,

and penitentiary every year who should have been sent to the hospital, to an inebriate asylum, to the country, or, much better, given work. Their offence is of a negative sort. It is not wilful. It is industrial or economic; they could not catch on.

By natural processes inability to maintain life in store, factory, or sweat-shop produces the outcast woman, just as sickness, irregular employment, hard times yield their unvarying harvest of vagrants, with the sequence of the lodging house, the street, and ultimately a life of petty crime. Such a career is not often taken from choice, but by misfortune. And society often arrests, sentences, and punishes, when it should help and endeavor to reclaim by work, kindness, and assistance.

We have had our public schools for so long that we accept them as a commonplace. But we do not appreciate that the high schools are raising millions of citizens to an educated estate which was known to but a limited number a few years ago. The effect of this infusion of culture into our life is beginning to make itself felt. And in the years to come, when education has, in fact, become compulsory, and the school age has been raised to a higher standard, the effect will be tremendous. Along with the schools go the public libraries. Branches and distributing agencies are extending their influence into every part of the city. Through them opportunity is offered for a con-

tinuation of study, even after the door of the school has closed.

Provision for public concerts in summer as well as in winter has already found a place in many municipal budgets. With the development of the city club there will come public orchestras, art exhibitions, and the like that will brighten the life of the community. Something like this is already being done through the libraries which are being constructed with assembly halls and meeting rooms for this purpose. Here and there the idea is taking form of utilizing the public-school buildings as local clubs. The basement, gymnasiums, and assembly rooms are being opened in the evening and during the summer months. In time there will be a modification in their architecture, equipment, and facilities, so that they will be available for a multitude of purposes instead of the limited one of education. In New York City the school buildings are already being erected with roof-gardens, where music, recreation, and a common centre for the life of the locality are offered.

These are some of the things the new city will do. It will also care for the sick, as it now does in many cities, through district physicians or visiting nurses attached to the school departments. It will find work and maintain employment agencies. It will supervise factories, mills, and workshops. The latter function is now inadequately

performed by the state at large, and the inefficiency of its performance is largely attributable to the fact that the state is attempting to supervise a matter of local concern. The regulation of the conditions of employment is as much a city function as is the preservation of the health and well-being of the community. It is also a necessary part of school administration.

All these functions are, in a sense, socialistic. But it is such activities as these, it is the care and protection of the people, that inspire love and affection for the city. For these new activities will enlarge our life, not limit it; will insure freedom, not destroy it; will give to the millions whose life goes to the city's upbuilding something more than ten hours of work, eight hours of sleep, a single room in a tenement for a home, and a few hours in the saloon as compensation for it all.

We have already taken the first steps toward such an end. Many of these activities are already performed in many cities without exciting comment. But nowhere have they been adopted as a conscious, working programme, unless it be in the county of London, the cities of Glasgow or Birmingham, or the parish of Battersea, where a coördinated idea of the city seems pretty highly developed. But amazing progress has been made in the United States within the past ten years. The most remarkable advance is in the cities of Bos-

ton, New York, Chicago, and Cleveland, which communities have been transformed in their tendencies if not in their achievements. We are probably in but the beginning of this movement which aims to relieve the cost of city life, to enlarge the opportunities for happiness, and save the oncoming generation from some of the losses which the industrial city has exacted.

How much farther the city will go in its activities is a matter of conjecture. That the educational development will continue is indicated by the impulse it has received in recent years, as well as the jealousy on the part of the public of anything which impairs its efficiency. The same is true of the public libraries, which are being supplemented in many cities by art galleries, public lectures, and concerts. The educational and recreative features of the twentieth-century city are assured, and these on a higher plane of efficiency as well as on a broader basis of culture than has anywhere yet been attempted. If our own cities are to follow the tendencies in England, Germany, France, and Belgium, it is likely that such functions will be greatly extended. Foreign cities are already going in for municipal milk bureaus, the supply of coal, for savings banks, not to speak of many enterprises of a purely competitive and commercial sort.

Many who assent to our advance in educational,

recreative, and charitable activities hesitate at the extension of the community into the field of business. Yet the management of certain industries seems as necessary to the city's well-being as the functions already assumed. The discussion of municipal ownership has heretofore been confined to the natural monopolies, to the franchise corporations, the street railways, gas, water, electric-lighting, telephone, power, and heating companies. These industries are inevitably monopolies. They occupy limited rights of way. They exist by grant from the city. Their business is of a routine nature. The services which they render are universally used. The public health, our comfort and convenience demand that these services should be supplied at a minimum cost. Urban life is so dependent upon them. Their use cannot be avoided, and work, pleasure, education, and domestic convenience are all intimately bound up with their cheap and proper performance. Moreover, the value of such industries is a social one, created by the very existence of the city, by its growth and development. In this respect they differ widely from the purely competitive business.

It would seem to be a rule of general application that whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly. Private monopoly and political liberty seem to be irreconcilable. It is because of the conflict between them that our

politics have suffered, along with our convenience. We have attempted to reconcile these two forces, with the result that liberty has lost in the contest. There is abundant evidence that street-railway fares under municipal ownership could be reduced to three, possibly to two cents. In Germany they have been cut down to two and one-half cents, while in England, where fares are adjusted by the zone system, the average paid in many cities is much less. In Glasgow, the average fare is one and three-fourths cents. In 1894 rates were reduced thirty-three per cent. Since that time the lines have been electro-equipped and greatly extended, while the number of passengers carried increased in eight years from 86,500,000 to 177,000,000, or a growth of one hundred per cent. Yet the net earnings of the Glasgow system, after all allowance for working expenses and necessary maintenance, were $1,760,000 in 1903. In the cities of New York and Cleveland, where an agitation has been on for the public ownership of electric light and power, it has been shown by reports of expert engineers that current could be produced and sold the consumer at three cents a kilowatt hour. This is from one-half to one-fifth what is usually charged by private companies.

Artificial gas is sold in the United States at from seventy-five cents to two dollars a thousand cubic feet, the average charge being in the neigh-

borhood of a dollar and a quarter. In Great Britain the rate in the municipal plants averages sixty-four cents a thousand, while in a number of cities it is as low as fifty cents. The by-products of coal gas have become so valuable that the gas itself is said to cost but little in the mains. If this be true, public ownership would greatly reduce the cost of light and fuel, while the problem of smoke abatement would be open to solution through the use of gas as a fuel.

Moreover, many things are possible through public management that cannot be achieved through private control. The streets and public ways can be better lighted, while the use of gas can be greatly extended among the poor. For the city can adjust the rates, payments, and conditions of use so as to promote the convenience of the user. This is the policy adopted in Great Britain, where one person out of every five uses gas in the cities, the use being promoted by municipal coöperation in many ways.

In the discussion of municipal problems it is necessary to bear in mind that the issue of city life has become one of decent human existence. In England, it has become the most vital of imperial problems, for town disease has already affected her army, her industry, her life itself. Even in America the barest conveniences of life are denied to millions, conveniences that make life endurable

to the majority of us. Every social adjustment involves some cost. Advancing society exacts some sacrifice. But under our present adjustment the sacrifice is borne by the many for the enjoyment of the few.

That democracy will seek to adjust these burdens so as to improve conditions of life is inevitable. The gain which has been made in the past ten years has been tremendous. Things that were denounced as socialistic but a few years ago are now accepted as commonplace. And greater and greater demands are being made in this direction each year. The time is not far distant when equality of chance, in so far as education is concerned, will be offered to all, while opportunities for recreation, which are now confined to a few and which a few years since were unknown to any, will become the common accessories of city life.

It is along these lines that the advance of society is to be made. It is to come about through the city. For here life is more active, while the government is close to the people. It is already manifest on every hand. Through the divorce of the city from state control this progress will be stimulated. The city will become a centre of pride and patriotism. Here art and culture will flourish. The citizen will be attached to his community just as were the burghers of the mediæval towns. Through direct legislation the city will be democratized.

Public opinion will be free to act. Then the official will be holden to a real responsibility, while national politics will no longer dominate local affairs, for the test of the candidate for office will be his citizenship in the community which he serves.

At the same time the burden of existence will be materially relieved. The great cost of living within the city is largely attributable to ground rent on the one hand, and the cost of such services as transportation, gas, water, and fuel on the other. From one-fourth to one-half of the worker's income is absorbed by these charges. By the municipalization of the latter services and the reduction of charges to cost, a portion of this loss can be regained. Likewise, by a beautiful law of social adjustment, the burdens created by the growth of society, the ground rents of our cities, can be used to compensate the individual for the losses which he has incurred in making the city his home. Such a programme of tax reform is demanded by justice, not by charity. For if it be true that organized society creates this fund, then society should retake it for its own needs and the satisfaction of the wants which are created, and which are everywhere incidental to existence in the city.

Just as by a wonderful provision of nature the moisture is gathered up from the sea, to be later deposited upon the land, which it refreshes and

renders productive, whence it is carried back again from mountain-side, hill, and prairie to the sea; so there is open to us a law of social life which performs the same refreshing and productive service. For the gathering together of mankind into close association, with its varied energies and activities, creates a social treasure; a treasure whose magnitude we are now able to measure, and which treasure, if retaken by society, will enable all of the burdens which close association involves, to be borne without cost to the dwellers therein.

This cycle of social production and social distribution, of rent and taxation, is like the circulation of the blood in the body. Surging from the heart, it is carried to the extremities, stimulating activities and enabling life to be carried on. From the extremities again, it is returned to the lungs, where it is purified and again returned to the heart.

Within the city there is a similar cycle. The crowding of mankind together has created a social fund. This fund is in excess of present needs, and the needs of government can never exceed it. In the creation of this fund mankind pays a price, a tribute for the privilege of city life; but a price that is now assumed by private collectors. Were society to retake this fund, it would repay the individual who has made the sacrifice what he has

lost, it would offer him many of the common necessities of life and usher in an elevated standard of existence.

All this can be brought about through a reform in our methods of taxation. For the taxation of ground rents does not increase rents nor the cost of living. It merely shifts the burden on to him who enjoys the benefit. It cannot be shifted to any one else. It is like special assessments for paving, sewers, and the like. From this source all of the needs of the city can be satisfied. In many communities this principle has already been recognized. The city of Liverpool receives a half-million dollars annually from the lease of its common land. In certain cities in Germany, it has become the policy to buy up surrounding land in advance of the city's growth, and thus retain the benefits and the unearned increment of the city's expansion.

Through these means poverty would be relieved. For poverty is an eradicable thing. It is not a dispensation of Providence, as we interpret the scriptural expression with which we justify our inaction. Nor is it true that the poverty, which is everywhere increasing in our cities, is traceable to "Nature or the Devil, which has made some men weak and imbecile, and others lazy and worthless." [1] Such men there are, and such there

[1] *The Trust: Its Book.* Article by S. C. T. Dodd.

will probably always be. But poverty in city and country is largely the result of human laws. It is the natural, as it is the inevitable, product of legal institutions, which are open to correction. These institutions are most aggressively operative in Great Britain and America, where industrial progress is most advanced and wealth is most abundant. Especially in America is poverty traceable to the monopoly of the land and its withholding from use by those who would work it. In our cities it is the burden of rent, along with the franchise monopolies, that imposes the heaviest burden on the poor. Aside from this, within and about every large city, land is held out of use for speculative purposes, while the city is filled with men eager for an opportunity. It is this dog in the manger policy of acquiring and holding out of use land which other men would work that has changed the character of America within the past twenty years from a nation incredulous of poverty into a nation of rapidly increasing tenancy and landless men. It is this that closes opportunity and must of necessity reduce both nominal as well as real wages. Whatever may be the extent of poverty to-day, (and we have recently had some alarming testimony, if not proof, of its widespread existence from the pen of Mr. Robert Hunter) the poverty of the next generation will be very great. For

in no nation of western civilization has monopoly affixed its hold to industry as it has in the United States. With it has gone a marked increase in the cost of living, as well as a closing of opportunity. To this is to be added the injustice of our federal taxes, which are designed like an exaggerated poll-tax and fall almost exclusively on the poor. America is to-day struggling under a burden of monopoly charges in rent, franchise and railway privileges, and taxes on the necessities of life, unparalleled in the civilized world outside of Russia. The poor are held between the burden of unjust taxation on the one hand and monopoly on the other, and the result must inevitably be a decrease in wages, a reduction of the standard of living, and a great increase in poverty.

In the cities it is within our power to lift the burden. The extension of the activities of the city and the reduction of the cost of service on municipal monopolies will do something. But the greatest gain will come through a change in our methods of taxation and the assumption of the unearned increment of the land for public uses.

But the fiscal advantages of the single tax upon land values are not the chief of the advantages which would follow. Through its introduction the bad tenement would disappear, while the vacant lands within and without the city would in-

vite building. A stimulus to industry would result which would increase the demand for labor. This, in turn, would increase wages. But beyond all this a new freedom would arise, while the opportunity of access to the undeveloped resources of America would be like the discovery of a new continent. For while America is the richest country in the world in resources, its population per square mile is still less than one-tenth of that of many European countries.

Through such means as these the city will cease to be a necessary abyss of poverty. It is our institutions and our laws, not a divine ordinance or the inherent viciousness of humankind, that are at fault. Our evils are economic, not personal. Relief is possible through a change in our laws, in an increase in the positive agencies of the government, and the taxing for the common weal of those values which are now responsible for much of the common woe. It is not personal goodness that is demanded so much as public intelligence. For the worst of the evils under which America suffers are traceable to laws creating privileges. The evils can be largely corrected through their abolition. This is most easily obtainable in the city, for it is in the city that democracy is organizing and the power of privilege most rampant.

In the past, the extension of the functions of

society has proceeded with an utter indifference to theoretical ideas as to the proper sphere of public activity. While political philosophers have debated the subject, society has ignored the proposals of individualism or socialism. While *a priori* philosophers have reduced the functions of the state to those of the constable, to the protection of life, liberty, and property from external and internal violence, public sentiment, unaided by the logic of any school, has contentedly accepted the formula of Locke that "the end of government was the welfare of mankind," which Thomas Huxley has said was "the noblest and at the same time briefest statement of the purpose of government known to man."

CHAPTER XX

THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY

The Twentieth Century opens with two distinguishing features—the dominant city and militant democracy. These phenomena are not confined to America. They characterize England, Germany, France, Belgium, and Italy. These features are permanent. This is assured by the nature of things. The life, the industry, the culture of the future will be urbanized, even though some revolution in the means of transit should lead to a decentralization of population. The city may change in many ways—undoubtedly it will. In the city of ten or possibly twenty million people there will be a redistribution of centres, possibly a redivision of political functions. But, in a historical sense, the city has resumed the commanding position which it enjoyed in the days of Athens, Rome, and the mediæval towns.

In external form and appearance, and methods of administration, the modern city does not differ greatly from its early prototype. The features common to both are a close association of mankind with many coöperative activities. Nor does the analogy stop here, for in every age the great cities

of the world have enjoyed a certain degree of freedom; of local control over the conduct of their affairs. In Athens, Rome, and the Italian cities there were democratic forms and a popular flavor to the government, while the free cities of the Middle Ages were private corporations of the merchants, hand-workers, and tradesmen, whose guild organizations elected the magistrates, the mayor, and the aldermen, and through this representation of special interests limited the power of the nobles and the feudal system.

The great difference between the twentieth-century city and those of the past lies in our legalized freedom; in universal education; in an organized machinery backed by years of tradition; but especially in the social instincts and industrial background of the present. Democracy, rather than class or business interest, is becoming intelligently organized. In this respect the Twentieth Century marks the dawning of an epoch in Western civilization. Our politics are reflecting this change. Never before has society been able to better its own condition so easily through the agency of government. The ready responsiveness of democracy, under the close association which the city involves, forecasts a movement for the improvement of human society more hopeful than anything the world has known.

In the past, too, the political unit has been the

state, and the theories of philosophers, of the socialist, and the individualist have had in mind a centralized organization, working downwards from the top to the individual.

But a shifting of emphasis has taken place. The tendencies of the present day are towards decentralization, in which the city will command an increasing share of attention. This is apparent in England, where the new democracy at work within the city is rapidly socializing industry with the conscious aim of improving the conditions of life. The same is true of all these reform movements in America that have involved the coöperation of the people.

Everywhere matters affecting the individual in his domestic relations are commanding increased attention. Present-day politics are concerning themselves with the elevation of the standard of living, with equality of opportunity, with the uplifting of life, and the betterment of those conditions which most intimately affect mankind. And these are almost all municipal matters. They bear only a distant relationship to the state at large. They are domestic in character and are being solved by an appeal to manhood suffrage and democratic organization. History offers no parallel to this phenomenon. For the cities of the past have been aristocratic centres, capital cities, industrial guilds, or feudal strongholds. Nowhere

and at no time has society been organized through manhood suffrage and the ballot, and free to carry out its philosophy or desires by a direct appeal to its members. This is a new force in the world—a force of unmeasured possibilities. And when the scope of the city is borne in mind, the possibilities of this new power of conscious, organized democracy are apparent. Saving as to matters of taxation, of international dealings, of transportation from place to place, of the administration of justice, the city is complete within itself. All other affairs of life, even industry itself, fall within the city's control. And with the unit reduced to the city, and with its functions determined by popular control, as is done in the New England town meeting, the dangers from bureaucratic or distant control are reduced to a minimum. For the city will then expand its activities only in response to the developing demands of the community; it will assume new burdens only as it justifies its abilities to perform them. Every city will be an experiment station, offering new experiences to the world. Just as one by one the services now performed by society have passed from private hands under the control of the city, and have brought increased liberty through the change, so the activities of the future will come in through a demand for a higher standard of life, and a larger equality of opportunity.

This very process is going on in every city. The steps that are being taken are so reasonable that they commend themselves to all. The English official resents the suggestion that his city is socialistic, even though it involves the management of many of those activities which, in America, are now left to private enterprise. The American feels no fear of socialism when his city assumes the disposal of garbage, the supply of water or electricity, the opening up of schools, kindergartens, lodging houses, parks, playgrounds, and bath houses. Yet his father would have rubbed his eyes in amazement at the suggestion of such undertakings being proper fields of public activity. Even the city of Cincinnati, which has built a railroad, is far from a socialistic commonwealth. And yet, no city in the Old or New World, with the possible exception of Manchester, which has aided in the construction of a ship canal, has gone to this extent in its functions. Yet Cincinnati has made a success of this venture. Threatened, as the city believed, by railway discrimination, it secured powers from the state to construct a railroad to the south. The enterprise was carried to a successful completion, and for years has proven not only self-sustaining, but a source of revenue to the city.

All this but indicates the amplitude of powers resident in the city by which it may solve, not only

the needs that now confront it, but work out the larger social problems of industry as well. What the final municipal programme of the new city will be, one can only conjecture, but that it will be a programme making for a better civilization, a larger life, and increased comfort and opportunity, the gradual progression of society gives assurance. That these increased activities will come by gradual steps, approved in time by all, is evidenced by the sanction of experience, which accepts with approval the functions which have thus far been assumed.

It may be said that such a programme is inconsistent with what we see about us, with the incompetence, if not the dishonesty, of our public life. But we do not see all the evidence. The average efficiency of public work is probably as high as the average efficiency of private work. Trade statistics show that a large per cent. of industrial ventures fail each year. Private as well as public work is performed by human agencies, and is subject to human limitations. And the character of municipal politics is rapidly improving.

How great the advance of recent years has been is proven by a contemplation of the conditions of a generation ago. Then, primaries were ruled by fraud, quite as often by force; then the "plug-ugly" of the ward held the caucus in the rear of

a saloon and brutally ejected opposition. Those were the insolent Tweed days.

But we need not go back so far. Within the past decade the gain has been remarkable. Reform has become popular. In city after city it is successful. The people are learning to make use of their political tools. The boss and the machine no longer offend the public in the grosser ways so common a few years since. The press is aiding in this movement. National and local organizations are coöperating to elevate public opinion. Better men are entering politics, while the people are learning that the ballot offers a means of redress for the worst abuses. Some of the most hopeless cities have been roused to effective action, and reform has won surprising victories in New York, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and elsewhere.

When we contemplate these things as well as the former feeling of impotence on the part of the citizen, the recent purification of the ballot, and the substantial gain which has been made in our cities, are little short of revolutionary. Corruption still exists, it is true, as do fraud, bribery, and the more subtle forms of control. But even these are being driven out into the light.

In late years all this has been converted into more respectable forms, and in the process has become even more dangerous to the state. For it

is buttressed by those in high places and ramifies into classes who decry the corruption of our life without appreciating their own participation in it. When one contemplates the similarity of conditions in city after city, there seems to be an intelligent adaptation of method by some central power. But this is not true. The similarity which prevails is not the result of concerted action, it is the logical adjustment of political agencies to the use of the private interests, grouped about the great franchise corporations of the nation. And this merging of business and politics, this weaving of private interests into the warp of party organization, has created a System of government; a System that has further entrenched itself through the centralizing tendencies observable in government during the past twenty years. This tendency to centralization has been strengthened by our desire to shirk the burdens of local government and to pass them on from the city to the state, and from the state to the nation at large. The result has been that with every departure from local home rule the opportunity for corruption increases. It opens the chance of control to irresponsible persons. Strict accountability to the people is impossible at a distance. Government that is responsible to local public sentiment cannot fortify itself against that sentiment when aroused, as can a distant executive or a legisla-

ture. They cannot be brought to book as can a city council or the mayor.

These tendencies to centralization would be checked by a return to local self-government, to municipal home rule, in which the city would be responsible to itself alone. Then the city would hold its own destiny in its hands, and unless we are ready to believe that the forces of evil are more potent than those of good, that those who desire corrupt government are more numerous than those who desire reform, the outcome of this replacement of responsibility on the shoulders of the people cannot be questioned.

Still other considerations than these of the welfare of the city demand local home rule. The urban population of the United States now comprises one-third of the whole. In the Eastern States it exceeds one-half, and is frequently as much as two-thirds, of the population. If our cities are corrupt, the larger divisions will reflect this corruption. Conversely, anything which will purify the source of the evil will destroy the evil as well. And through the divorce of the city from the state, the power of the senatorial and the state machine will be broken. By this means the city will be free to isolate its politics. Then public sentiment will be elevated and the chain of interests which ramify from the capital at Washington back to city, town, and hamlet will be broken; then

a new constituency will come into existence, which, in turn, will elevate the tone of state and national affairs as well.

Just as this political hegemony can be shattered by the release of the city from state control, so municipal politics will be purified by the elimination of the cause of its corruption. The city is not menaced by the people. Popular government has justified many of its promises in so far as it has remained popular. Democracy has been drugged by privileged wealth, and the means of relief are through the resumption of those privileges by the people.

Within the past few years the steam-railway systems of America have been consolidated into a half-dozen master hands. During the same period the street railways and gas companies have been syndicated by a group of New York and Philadelphia capitalists. The same is true of the telephone, as well as of electric light and power. These interests are united by business, social, and political ties that enable them to work as one man in the organization of national, state, and city affairs. Through this unity of power the great natural monopolies of America have become identified with a few men, and these men, through the ramifications of their interests, have been able to develop a System of government which is buttressed on the one hand by the United States Sen-

ate and on the other hand by the control of the party in state, county, and city. It is these interests that are responsible for most of the corruption of our cities. For in city after city the conditions are the same. And even were the positive proof lacking, the necessity of it all supplies the explanation. For the franchise corporation is a natural monopoly, exclusive in its service. The value of its securities lies in a grant from the city, rather than in the investment made. The volume of securities which may be issued depends upon the maintenance of this monopoly,—the prevention of regulation or competition, and the keeping down of taxes.

There can be no other cause which explains the corruption. The corporation enjoys perpetual succession. Its life exceeds in duration that of the individual. It alone, yesterday, to-day, to-morrow, is interested in maintaining the *status quo*. Other corrupting influences are transient and occasional. And none save the privileged interests can afford the outlay necessary to secure political control. For the gains enjoyed are measured in millions.

When, in the criminal law, the evidence accumulates to a certainty; when in addition to the evidence the motive appears and cannot be questioned; when the means to be employed are at hand and the goods are found in the possession

of the accused; when all these things conjoin; when, in addition, one influence after another can be excluded as inadequate, then the conviction passes beyond a reasonable doubt.

Such is the nature of the proof that it is franchises, grants, and privileges that have subverted our cities and substituted for democracy a System of business government. It is this that has alienated much of the talent and intelligence of the community and made reform a class struggle, and democracy a thing many despair of.

Many there are who question the ability of democracy to solve the problems of city life along the lines indicated. To some this is not so much reasoned conviction as indolent disinclination to assume the burdens involved. It is so much easier to rely on the boss, the party, and the System which has been inaugurated. Yet, the testimony of all experience shows that society has constantly moved onward through forces from below. The great advances in government have been achieved through the common people slowly breaking down privilege after privilege in the onward movement of human liberty. The lesson of our present industrial achievement is the same. The captain of industry has come up from the sod and the mill. He has exemplified the law of nature, which is as active in government as it is in his own career.

The great problem now before the American

people is, how can opportunity be kept open; how can industry be saved from privilege; how can our politics be left to the unimpeded action of talent and ability? This is the problem which the city has to solve, even more than the state or the nation. For in the city the life of the future is to be found. Already the burden of mere existence taxes to the uttermost the energy of an increasing mass of the population. This burden arises in large measure through the increased cost of living, which, in turn, is traceable to rent, to transit, to light, heat, and water, the great natural monopolies, whose values the city creates.

With these services, along with the ground rents of our cities, socialized, the standard of living would be elevated, while through coöperative agencies the city would become in effect an enlarged home, offering to its members many of the comforts and conveniences that are now denied to any save a few. With these opportunities enlarged, the love and affection of the citizen for the city would increase, which, in turn, would bring about a purification of our politics that cannot be obtained so long as the influence of the rich and privileged classes is united against the community.

With such a programme achieved, democracy would cease to be a class struggle. There would be created a union of all the people, seeking in conscious ways the betterment of human condi-

tions. Then the merit system, the party, the ballot, the charter, would be reformed by common demand; for then there would be no class, no powerful influence, whose control of the government was dependent upon the persistence of the *status quo*. With home rule secured, with popular control attained, with the city free to determine what activities it will undertake, and what shall be its sources of revenue, then the city will be consciously allied to definite ideals, and the new civilization, which is the hope as well as the problem of democracy, will be open to realization.

INDEX

A

Art, Municipal, p. 239; awakening interest in, p. 239; attitude of historic cities towards, p. 240

B

Bigelow, Herbert S., p. 254
Boss, The, pp. 43, 96, 102
Boston, Land value in, p. 258
Building laws, p. 202
Business men's government; at fault, p. 3; now in existence, p. 6

C

Causes of city growth in America, p. 13
Charter, The city, p. 177; experience in, p. 178; recent changes in, p. 181; need of strong executive, p. 184
Chicago, p. 49; cause of corruption in, p. 74; small parks in, p. 229; water works of, p. 125
Cincinnati, Franchises of, p. 68; conditions in, p. 80
City, The. Evils industrial and economic, p. 2; present conditions hopeful, p. 44; growth of population in, p. 10; economic conditions determining growth, p. 17; city democratic, pp. 22, 248, 292; marks a revolution in society, p. 22; change in character of, p. 47; humanizing influences of, pp. 25, 30; per capita expenditure of, p. 58; gains through, p. 25; some of the costs of, p. 32; poverty of, pp. 34, 38; industrial conditions in, p. 35; exaggerated idea of corruption in, p. 44; the English city, p. 136; Italian cities, p. 164; wreckage in, p. 214; revenues of, p. 262; social centres in, p. 228; change in issues in, p. 292
Cleveland, Administration of, p. 52; growth, future, of, p. 15; municipal contest in, p. 81; franchises in, p. 67; water works in, p. 125; tenement conditions in, p. 200, general, pp. 227, 243
Colorado, Home rule in, p. 161
Correctional methods used, pp. 215-226
Corruption, Exaggerated idea of, p. 44; change in character of, pp. 62, 72, 74, 86, 93; Chicago, p. 74; sources of, pp. 62, 69; St. Louis, p. 78; Cincinnati, p. 80; Pittsburg, p. 85; Philadelphia, p. 85; franchises, influence

of, p. 86; in general, p. 102; has become respectable, pp. 306, 311
Costs of the city, p. 32
Council, The, p. 181
Country, Movement away from, p. 10
Crime, Industrial, pp. 215, 225; changing attitude towards, p. 227; increase in cities, p. 198; appearance of, p. 36
Criminal administration, Inefficiency of, p. 216; a survival of the past, p. 219

D

Democracy, Distrust of, p. 1; hopeful, p. 23; is not at fault, p. 114
Detroit, p. 52
Direct primaries, p. 173

E

Economic conditions determining city growth, p. 13
Electric lighting in Great Britain, p. 151
English cities, Increase in democracy of, p. 136; indebtedness of, p. 137; municipal trading in, p. 138; extent of municipal trading in, p. 152; housing condition in, p. 188
Expenditures of city, p. 58

F

Federal plan of charter, p. 184
Financing of corporations, p. 72
Franchise corporations, Political activity of, p. 62; taxation of, p. 63; value of, pp. 65-69; are monopolies, p. 70; financing of, p. 72; source of corruption, pp. 62, 66, 86, 88; character of corporations, pp. 98, 102; values of, p. 264; are land values, p. 264
Freedom, Increase of, by reason of activities, p. 29

G

Gains through the city, p. 24
Gas in the United States, p. 290
Gas supply in England, p. 139; charges for, p. 140; extensive use of, p. 141; regulation by Parliament, p. 143
Glasgow, Activities of, p. 146
Great Britain, Distribution of population in, p. 10; municipal ownership in, p. 136; housing condition in, p. 187
Ground rents, Amount of, pp. 192, 253-261; burden on society, p. 273
Growth of population in cities, p. 10
Growth of tenancy, p. 194

H

Harrison, Sir Frederic, description of city conditions, p. 189
High rents, Cause of overcrowding, p. 205

Home ownership in America, p. 194
Home rule for cities, pp. 160, 164
Home, The problem of to-day, p. 212
Housing problem, p. 131; condition in England, p. 187; in America, p. 190; high rents cause of, p. 205
Humanizing forces in the city, p. 25
Hunter, Robert, Housing conditions in America, p. 190
Huxley, Thos. H., pp. 38, 299

I

Increasing interest in municipal art in America, p. 239
Industrial conditions in cities, p. 35
Industrial revolution, Effect of, p. 15
Initiative and referendum, p. 171
Italian cities, p. 164

J

Johnson, Tom L., Mayor of Cleveland, p. 83
Jones, Samuel M., Mayor of Toledo, p. 83
Juvenile offenders, p. 216; treatment of, p. 227

L

Land policy in some English cities, p. 154
Land tax (see Single Tax) borne by landlords, p. 209
Land values in New York and Philadelphia, p. 192; created by society, p. 252; cause of tenement evil, p. 194; amount of, p. 253
Libraries, p. 285

M

Macaulay, Quotation from, p. 8
Mayor, the, Increasing power of, p. 180
Mill, John Stuart, pp. 130, 266
Minnesota, Home rule in, p. 161
Missouri, Home rule in, p. 161
Municipal ownership, p. 113; effect on the citizenship, p. 156; dangers of exaggerated, p. 119; spoils system in, p. 119; false ideas as to efficiency of public service, p. 122; social effects of, p. 123; financial showing of, p. 125; objections as to socialistic character of, p. 128; present activities of the city, p. 128; social advantages of, p. 131; as a relief to the poor, p. 132; in Great Britain, p. 136
Municipal trading in Great Britain, p. 136

N

New civilization due to the city, p. 9
New York City, Magnitude of operations of, p. 11; change in character of, pp.

13, 19; taxpayers in, p. 34; administration in, p. 49; expenditures for police, p. 222; land values in, p. 253

P

Parks, Growth of, p. 245
Party organization, p. 93
Penal science, Progress in, p. 214
Per capita expenditure of cities, p. 58
Philadelphia, Corruption in, p. 85; land value in, p. 256
Pittsburg, Growth of, p. 16; corruption in, p. 85
Playgrounds, p. 282
Police administration, Need of new ideas, p. 233
Poor, Change in society's attitude towards, p. 227
Post, Louis F., p. 255
Poverty, Appearance of, in cities, pp. 33, 38; largely industrial, p. 234; influence of tenements on, p. 197; parks, p. 229
Privilege, p. 98
Public schools, p. 285
Public spirit, Growth of, p. 47

R

Rapid transit, p. 131; means of relief to slums, p. 203
Recall, The, p. 173
Reform organizations, Attitude of, p. 1; burdens of, p. 116
Reform schools, p. 228
Regulation of franchise corporations a failure, p. 114
Rents, High, cause of overcrowding, p. 205
Revenues, The city's, p. 262
Rural society, The passing of, p. 9

S

St. Louis, Corruption in, p. 78
San Francisco, Land values in, p. 259
Single tax as a cure for the tenement evil, p. 205; increase in value of urban lands, p. 192; is borne by the landlord, p. 274; experience in New Zealand, p. 276; cannot be shifted to the tenant, p. 277
Slums, p. 188
Small parks, pp. 228, 231
Social evil, The, pp. 198, 218
State interference with cities, pp. 99, 163
Steffens, J. Lincoln, pp. 4, 74
Street railways, in Great Britain, p. 143; rapid growth of, p. 145

T

Taxation, Home rule in, p. 169
Telephone service in English cities, p. 151
Tenancy, Growth of, p. 194
Tenement evil at bottom a land question, p. 191; existing methods to correct, p. 202; single tax an automatic cure, p. 205; vacant land in large cities, p. 207
Toledo, Franchise in, p. 67; contest in, p. 83
Transportation, Development of, pp. 18, 20
Treasure, The city's, p. 249

U

United States Senate, Influence of, p. 110
Urban land values, Cause of tenancy, p. 195; increase in value of, p. 192; created by society, p. 25

V

Vacant land in large cities, p. 207
Vice due to tenements, p. 196

W

Washington, administration of city, pp. 48, 242
Water supply, in Great Britain, p. 139; in American cities, p. 126
Wells, H. G., "Anticipations," p. 12
Woman suffrage, p. 174
Women wage-earners, pp. 217, 235
Wreckage of the city, p. 214

BOOKS BY FREDERIC C. HOWE

PUBLISHED BY

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

EUROPEAN CITIES AT WORK

12mo, $1.75 net

DR. HOWE, looking upon the development of city administration as the great hope of future civilization, presents in this book a constructive vision of the city of to-morrow. It is the third of his inspiring studies of city life and government, and as the first, "The City: The Hope of Democracy," presented the structure of cities, so this volume deals rather with the activities of European cities. He places emphasis on the social side of city life, the new art of community living—planning for health and beauty with an allowance for future growth, laying out suburbs like garden cities, building model apartments, founding municipal pawn-shops and savings-banks.

THE BRITISH CITY: The Beginnings of Democracy

12mo, $1.50 net

"The author views the history of municipal government in England, describes its structure and form. . . . His position is unquestionably sound, and he reflects the spirit of the age and the dominant tendencies and ideas. He has written a vital and significant book."—*Chicago Post.*

"There are few persons interested in municipal questions who will not find it of value."—*The Nation.*

"Fascinating as a good story, packed with reliable information from cover to cover."—*The Chicago Record-Herald.*

BOOKS BY FREDERIC C. HOWE

THE CITY: The Hope of Democracy

12mo, $1.00 net

"In his analysis of the present political and municipal systems, the author shows not only a profound knowledge of his theme, but an enlightened and constructive conception of the remedies which will require to be employed in the rectification of existing abuses."

—*John Ure Primrose, Lord Provost of Glasgow.*

"Merits a wide reading and is calculated to do a most useful service."—*Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin.*

WISCONSIN: An Experiment in Democracy

12mo, $1.25 net

"Mr. Howe's book is a notable contribution to current political history. It tells, clearly and tersely, the story of a great State's emancipation from fetters of privilege and class preferment. . . . It is a text-book of patriotism and manual of democratic efficiency that commands careful study."

—*Philadelphia North American.*

"Furnishes stimulative reading and will be helpful to the serious student."—*The Dial.*

PRIVILEGE AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

12mo, $1.50 net

JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY says of this book:

"I have read it with the greatest interest. It is one of the ablest contributions that has yet been made to the literature on this subject. Students of democracy and every citizen interested in good government should have this book. Dr. Howe's knowledge of his subject is profound. He has produced a work that gives us one of the most illuminating remedies for the elimination of existing abuses that has yet appeared."

JS
341
.H7

3764

352 H855c
Howe, Frederic Clemson,
The city, the hope of
democracy

330
H0.3

MAIN JS341.H7
Howe, Freder The city, the hope of demo
3 9536 000 410 231

P6-BYE-143